Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-161 *19 August 1994*

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Trial of Ethnic Greeks Continues in Tirana

AU1808143394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 94

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[Text] On the third day of the trial, the court presided over by Martin Deda and Prosecutors Qeleshi and Gjokutaj continued to examine the defendants Bezhani, Qirjako, Marto, Papakristo, and Sirma.

The hearing opened with questions addressed to defendant Theodhori Bezhani, which focused on the origin of financial support for Omonoia [Greek minority organization], the illegal keeping of arms, and activity during the electoral campaign.

In his answers, Bezhani confessed that he had twice received 60,000 Greek drachmas to help Omonoia, which, according to him, has a current bank account in Ioannina and has called on Greeks all over the world to contribute.

Defendant Bezhani also admitted having received 200,000 drachmas from Poaka [not further identified], for which he possesses relevant documents signed by him. He confessed that Sebastianos [not further identified] had given him 10,000 drachmas.

Responding to questions by Prosecutor Qeleshi as to whether there had been any financing during the 1992 electoral campaign, Bezhani acknowledged that they were financed by the Assistance Institute chaired by Ali Maja in order to bring in refugees to participate in the voting. Bezhani also confessed that his firearm, a double-barreled shotgun bought in Ioannina in 1992, was illegal.

Continuing to question Bezhani, Prosecutor Gjokutaj sought to discover whether his confessions at the trial were justly reflected. Asked by panel member Zhukri, Bezhani answered that he has dined twice in the Hotel Palladio as the guest of the Institute of Vorio-Epirot Research and Studies, and once in Athens, negating his meeting with Andrea Zabakulla.

Court Chairman Martin Deda asked Bezhani whether financing by parties and associations from other countries was legal in the case of electoral campaigns. The defendant confirmed that the financing was illegal.

Later in the hearing, defendant Panajot Marto confessed, but he rejected the indictment. Like defendant Vangjel Papakristo, Marto claimed that violence has been used during the investigation process, thus voiding the essence of the indictment.

Answering questions by Prosecutor Gjokutaj, Marto confessed that, being Omonia chairman for Delvine and under the orders of the Sarande branch presidency, he had compiled a list of released officers in Delvine. He admitted having met Andrea Zabakulla [not further identified] three times during his monthly visits to Greece. Though trying to avoid answering, Marto confirmed that he had shown interest in military barracks, had compiled lists of finance police members, and had received 40,000 drachmas to be used for gasoline during the electoral campaign. He had also received another 10,000 drachmas from Sebastianos for this purpose.

Claiming he was in a heavy psychic condition, Marto attempted to avoid answering direct questions.

In his testimony, defendant Kosta Qirjako rejected the charges. He confirmed that he had met Mrs. Tsuderu, former deputy foreign minister in the Mitsotakis government, and that he sought assistance from all Greek institutions, including Asphalia [Greek Secret Service].

At this point, today's hearing closed.

Tomorrow's hearing will begin with questions addressed to defendants Qirjako and Sirma.

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Socialist Party Candidate Elected Sandanski Mayor

AU1808155394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15 Aug 94 p 1

[Excerpt] In the second round of the Sandanski mayoral election, independent candidate Engineer Kostadin Buzov, supported by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], OPT [Fatherland Party of Labor], Christian Women's Movement, and the Aleksandur Stamboliyski BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] received the votes of 63.42 percent of those who participated in the election. He will now take over the administration of the town as its new mayor. Eng. Veselin Malamov, the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] candidate, received 26.15 percent of the votes cast.

Some 27 percent of the electorate took part in the second round of the election. Of 33,860 registered voters, 9,567 came to the polling stations to cast their votes, and 6,049 of them voted for Kostadin Buzov. [passage omitted]

New Bulgaria Leader on Struggle for Democracy

AU1908064594 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Aug 94 p 10

[Interview with Stefan Nikolov, leader of the New Bulgaria Party, by Stefka Popova; place and date not given: "Stefan Nikolov Says: After Five Years of Democracy, We Are Starting From Scratch"]

[Excerpt] [Popova] Mr. Nikolov, what are your expectations for the forthcoming political season?

[Nikolov] After nearly five years of democracy, we are once again at the starting point. The politicians who are currently in the corridors of power—alternating between the role of ruling force and that of opposition—are responsible for the waste of time and for disappointing the people's hopes and playing with their emotions. It is not surprising that most of them are trying to restore their power as leaders of our society and dominate our public life. In other words, Bulgaria is facing the struggle for democracy.

[Popova] How do you intend to wage this struggle?

[Nikolov] The people were manipulated to the brink of political hysteria, but this state of mind cannot be kept up forever; emotions are already subsiding. People no longer believe their leaders and are withdrawing from politics. The situation is very dangerous today because apathy tends to produce a vacuum in society. Such a kind of political atmosphere is an opportunity for demagogues; it is conducive to unrealistic promises and lies. Our Bulgarian history provides a sufficient number of such examples since the beginning of the century.

[Popova] On what could a right-wing center party such as yours rely in view of the evident left-wing trend of the masses?

[Nikolov] I do not think there is such a left-wing trend among the masses. It is rather a question of general crisis and hopelessness. Unfortunately, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] did not justify the expectations regarding the establishment of a political right-wing force. We can see only demagogic figures of all colors and shades among the parliamentary, as well as among the extra-parliamentary circles, figures who are trying to take advantage of the people's dejection.

[Popova] What does your policy of national salvation look like?

[Nikolov] Our main objective is to concentrate all efforts on the economic sector. The total disintegration of the infrastructure and the absolute absence of any efforts to restore production can no longer be tolerated. Moreover, we should not neglect the old markets for the sake of new ones that have not been opened yet. Law and order, as well as the personal safety of all citizens, should be established. The current trend toward interethnic and religious clashes is dangerous. Above all, we should put a stop to this humiliating boot licking at the expense of a dignified foreign policy based on Bulgaria's national interests. All this could be achieved as long as we have sufficiently strong guarantors, such as the Army, the security forces, and others to rely upon in conducting a worthy foreign policy.

[Popova] Can you describe the social basis that you intend to rely upon?

[Nikolov] It is composed of businessmen and our national intelligentsia. The businessmen should be granted total freedom of economic initiative within the framework of the law and enjoy the protection of the state. Naturally, the freedom of private enterprise should not be granted at the expense of the state-owned sector, but should go along with it. Our party's policy has evoked great interest and response. We are ready to cooperate with all political forces without any discrimination. We have already organized several national conferences with the participation of representatives from different parties. [passage omitted]

SDS Deputy Markov Attacks Coordinating Council

AU1908063694 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13-14 Aug 94 p 2

[Excerpt] Sofia—The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] parliamentary group is going to withdraw its political confidence in the SDS National Coordinating Council, National Assembly Deputy Georgi Markov told KONTINENT. Markov, who returned to the SDS parliamentary group at the end of July, considers that the National Coordinating Council no longer represents the SDS and should be declared to be a sect.

No one knew Agov, Sokolov, Luchnikov, Bozduganov, Mikhaylov, or Kantardzhiev [post holders in SDS National Coordinating Council], Markov said, pointing out that the people voted for the deputies who now represent the SDS. In his view, the National Coordinating Council has been infested with small parties

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consisting of two or three people who defend no one's interests except their own. Just a year ago, Ivan Kostov proposed closing down the National Coordinating Council, and in Markov's view, this idea is still topical. Markov predicted that a small group of 10-15 persons will form around Filip Dimitrov.

Georgi Markov declared that the SDS coalition has totally and irreversibly exhausted its potential, both as a structure and group of personalities. For this reason, three-quarters of the members of the SDS parliamentary group will form a new broadly based democratic alliance, and they will probably leave the SDS emblem in the hands of a small blue [SDS] party that will remain in isolation in 134 Rakovski Street [offices of SDS National Coordinating Council]. The facts have proved, Markov said in support of his prediction, that even the coalition's emblem cannot bring it victory.

The National Assembly deputy announced that intensive negotiations are already under way on signing a political agreement in the National Assembly on a cabinet, adding new members to the Constitutional Court and Supreme Court, an electoral system, and so on. According to Markov, this agreement is supposed to isolate the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], although some Socialists may sign the pact. [passage omitted]

Mehmed Hodja Discusses DPS Leadership

AU1908063494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Aug 94 p 2

[Text] Plovdiv—In Plovdiv yesterday, 50 persons dissatisfied with Ahmed Dogan [leader of Rights and Freedoms Movement, DPS] founded a district organization of the Party of Democratic Changes [PDP], which is expected to be registered next week at the Sofia City Court.

We do not accept left-wing politics and are ready to join a common anti-communist bloc with the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] as soon as the situation within the SDS coalition clarifies, [PDP leader] Mehmed Hodja informed supporters and journalists in Plovdiv.

He described as suicide the possibility of his party running in the elections independently. The PDP is not an ethnically based party, he said, and plans to work for Bulgaria's democratization. Mehmed Hodja accused the present DPS leaders of corruption and cooperation with the former State Security. He claimed that DPS Deputy Sherife Mustafa had received 292,460 leva over a period of almost one year as a member of the Governing Board of Agrobiznesbank. He also asserted that a participant in the revival process [forcible changing of names of Bulgarian Muslims in 1984-85] in Razgrad district had fled abroad in a ship provided by the Kameya Company, which financed Dogan's sumptuous wedding.

According to Hodja, Osman Oktay [DPS National Assembly deputy and responsible secretary of DPS Central Council] received clothing and presents worth 35,000 leva from the Drusturkomers Company under the cover name of Ognyan, and that Yunal Lyutfi [deputy leader and spokesman of DPS parliamentary group] financed his daughter's wedding in Plovdiv with money received from businessman Onik Kabamalyan. Hodja declared that if the National Assembly is dissolved tomorrow, several leading DPS figures will be arrested as soon as they leave parliament.

The chairman of the district PDP organization in Plovdiv is Sabri Husein, a former deputy of the Grand National Assembly. Husein, a Plovdiv lawyer, was one of the initiators who formed the so-called Turkish Democratic Party. The participants in the constituent conference decided that one of the deputy chairmen of the new organization should be a Bulgarian.

Commentator Claims Voters Deserting DPS Leader

AU1808155194 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Aug 94 p 4

[Commentary by Konstantin Subev: "Each to His Own People"]

[Text] The founding of a local organization of Mehmed Hodja's Party of Democratic Changes in Plovdiv—a city that both Ahmed Dogan and Fikret Sepetchi, the local leader of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] complacently considered to be a DPS citadel, indicates the deep confusion and social divisions within the one-time committed electorate of the "Iron Hawk" [Dogan].

It is still too early to say whether Mehmed Hodja's party will emerge as a force to be reckoned with, but its very formation and growth bears out the Turkish saying that "interest shakes the fez." It is quite natural for the better educated and wealthier Bulgarian Turks to gravitate toward more right-wing politics and sympathize with the ideas of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], while the poor and landless peasants look toward 20 Pozitano Street [Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters], the various Bulgarian agrarian parties, and Nedim Gendzhev's rival DPS party, as is already happening in many places in the Rhodopes and Ludogorie. In other words, each to his own people.

The ethnic map on which Dogan stakes his claim is already more or less an everyday reality. Any further attempt to overplay this trump can only lead to dramatic clashes with an unpredictable outcome, and the ordinary Osman or Hasan is too wise to want this.

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Klaus Discusses Sudeten German Issue

AU1808155494 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Robert Dengler and Jitka Gotzova in Prague on 9 August: "Klaus Does Not Want the Sudeten Issue To Dominate Relations With Germany"]

[Text] Prime Minister Klaus does not want to accept the dominance of the Sudeten issue in relations between the Czech Republic and Germany. This is demonstrated by his 9 August interview for RUDE PRAVO.

"It is a politician's task to make certain that relations between two countries are not dominated by a single, very narrow topic. I cannot rule out the antinuclear attitude in Austria or the Sudeten German Landsmannschafts' disposition in Germany. I can do my best, however, to see that Temelin, in the former instance, and Mr. Neubauer, in the latter, do not become the dominant theme of foreign policy of these two countries," Klaus said.

He refused as irrelevant the speculation that, before the end of its term in 1996, the government could sign a certain amendment to the Czech-German treaty. "It do not believe it possible," he said. (Because the 1992 treaty with Germany does not deal with the property issues between the Czech Republic and the FRG—e.g., compensation to the Czech victims of Nazism—speculation has emerged that a possible venue would be an amendment to the treaty—ed. note)

According to Klaus, he has not received from Bavarian Minister President Edmund Stoiber any appeal for a dialogue on a "representative level" with the expelled Germans. He told this to RUDE PRAVO in response to a report in SUDETENDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that Stoiber allegedly appealed to Klaus for such a dialogue at the end of July. "I have not been in contact with the minister president either by mail or by telephone for months," Klaus emphasized.

Stoiber publicly challenged Klaus to a dialogue last year. After last year's Sudeten German Days, Klaus in a letter to Stoiber refused any conceivable attempts at linking the construction of the Ingolstadt pipeline to the Sudeten issue. He also rejected the extreme pronouncements made at the Sudeten German Days.

Prime Minister Klaus says he does not have the impression that the government coalition keeps any secrets regarding Czech-German relations. He said this in response to a question of why the outcome of the talks between coalition politicians and President Havel in the so-called Eleven is not published.

"You certainly must be able to imagine that we will organize a foreign political debate on the topic of Bosnia as an exchange of opinions, which does not translate into the obligation to immediately publish a detailed release in the form of a communique. There is really nothing secret about it. It is rather an attempt at learning the opinion of other members of the Eleven, without the pressure of the TV camera, when a politician plays with only a slightly depressed accelerator and is particularly careful about the sentence he utters because it can reap or not reap applause."

"Is the coalition really clear regarding Czech-German relations?" This was another RUDE PRAVO question, to which Klaus replied: "The general opinion is similar among all of the participants in the foreign policy debates on this topic. However, some hold a different specific position and therefore feel a different degree of personal responsibility for this or that statement. In this respect, while there certainly are no substantial differences concerning the essentials, to a certain extent their wording can differ."

To the observation that, according to Josef Lux [Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party chairman and deputy prime minister], a clear, unequivocal stand should have been declared, the prime minister said: "I really do not believe my views on this matter differ from those of Mr. Lux, but it is obvious that he, as chairman of a party with 5 or 6 percent representation in parliament, can state certain things differently from the way I as prime minister can. It is logical that the vocabulary must be different. His words will be assessed differently by the German media than mine. Therefore, he can phrase certain things much more strongly. It is not greater or lesser courage but, rather, a different position and a different situation."

To the question of whether there was any development in relations with the FRG regarding the Sudeten issue after Klaus said last year that the ball is in the German court, the prime minister replied: "I do not believe there was any because, among other things, no exceptional development can take place in Germany in an election year. Only the postelection period, the time of relaxation in political life, is suitable for new initiatives. We can look for something new at that time. Nevertheless, I have never called for any breakthroughs, anything pioneering or new. I simply do not believe there is a distinct, clear, visible, tangible, brilliant solution, of which no one has thought and that would solve this entire issue." Furthermore, Klaus said: "I keep repeating that this problem will be brought up at various times again and again. At other times, it will be forgotten. I do not believe in a solution that would completely remove this problem."

To the question of whether he expects at least a gesture similar to that of German President Herzog, who recently apologized to Poland for Nazi violence, Klaus replied: "Gestures are frequently applauded, but the applause fades awfully fast. I do not believe in such a great weight of a gesture."

Asked whether he agrees with the opinion of Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and Foreign Committee Chairman Jiri Payne (both Civic Democratic Party) that

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the problem could be settled once the Czech and the German Governments arrive at an identical interpretation of history, Klaus said: I have an awfully hard time understanding the phrase "identical interpretation of history." Nor can I really imagine that these governments would festively meet to sign a document that their interpretations of history correspond. It seems a rather unrealistic idea. We will always interpret history differently because we view it from different vantage points and under different short-term pressure. If I say this, however, it does not at all mean that we should not take a thousand and one steps toward this ideal state of identical assessment of the situation."

On Czech Radio on Tuesday, Klaus described as a part of the dialogue the participation of Czech politicians—for instance, at the September CSU [Christian Social Union] congress.

Havel's Religious Quest Interpreted

94CH0385A Prague PROGNOSIS in English 3 Aug 94 p 6

[Article by Matt Welch: "How Havel Finally Found God"]

[Text] As he approaches his 58th birthday and the publication of a collection of his major post-revolution speeches, Czech President Vaclav Havel appears to have concluded that the only way for the world to solve the crises it faces—from environmental destruction to nationalist wars—is for humanity to rekindle its relationship with God.

Havel made his most explicit call for a return to spirituality in the Freedom Prize acceptance speech he gave on July 4 in Philadelphia.

"The Declaration of Independence, adopted 218 years ago in this building, states that the Creator gave man the right to liberty. It seems man can realize that liberty only if he does not forget the One who endowed him with it," Havel told the audience.

Havel has long supposed in his writings that the key to man's future is a movement of self-transcendence, a renewal of unselfish responsibility based on respect for what he referred to as "the mysterious order of Being" or "the absolute horizon," but rarely as "God."

"We must draw our standards from our natural world, heedless of ridicule, and reaffirm its denied validity," Havel wrote in his 1984 essay "Politics and Conscience."

"We must honor with the humility of the wise the bounds of that natural world and the mystery which lies beyond them, admitting that there is something in the order of being which evidently exceeds all our competence."

"This could well be someone who shrinks from saying the word 'God,'" wrote Heinrich Boll in a 1984 review of Havel's *Letters to Olga*. "What we are possibly dealing with here is the manifestation of a new form of religiousness, which out of courtesy no longer addresses God with the name that has been trampled underfoot by politicians."

Letters to Olga, written during Havel's 1979-83 jail term, represented the first evidence of his questioning his spirituality in depth. "There is no doubt that I could substitute the word 'God' for my 'something' or for the 'absolute horizon,' and yet this does not seem to me to be a very serious approach," Havel wrote. "What I am lacking is that extremely important 'last drop' in the form of the mystical experience of the enigmatic address and revelation."

In *Disturbing the Peace*, a book-length interview with Karel hvizd'ala published in 1986, Havel said he was no longer "so certain" he needed that last step, but he still did not consider himself "converted."

"I believe that all of this—life and the universe—is not just 'in and of itself.' I believe that nothing disappears forever, and less so our deeds, which is why I believe that it makes sense to try to do something in life, something more than that which will bring one obvious returns," he explained.

Though he didn't completely shy away from using the word "God" (especially when lamenting how modern science "kills God and takes his place on the vacant throne") in the interview, Havel still didn't provide much definition of the "absolute horizon" he was increasingly convinced humanity needed to rediscover. His spiritual yearnings, however, continued.

In February 1990, only six weeks after Havel was inaugurated as president, he invited the Dalai Lama to Prague and spent several hours in spiritual consultation and mediation with the Tibetan holy leader.

Havel has also taken great pleasure in speaking with Pope John Paul II, whom he met for a third time this March. "Once again, your wisdom, nobility, breadth of vision and personal charisma have irradiated me in a very special way, and I felt the sudden gift of renewed energy, the will to go on with my work, the faith that this work makes sense and the ability to delight in its outcome," he told the Pope.

The papal visit came on the heels of wider religious wanderings by the Czech president, who has never attended church regularly and who has said he never prays. "I have recently visited the most holy places of different religions—Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Judaism—and in the atmosphere of those places, I was made aware again that the basis of all religion lies in the idea of tolerance, of understanding for others, of helping one's neighbor—in short, the idea of the good that God expects from mankind," he said.

Havel's God is one who encompasses the best of all the world's religions, whose specific structures and cultural interpretations are much less important. In Philadelphia,

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Havel referred to the Gaia hypothesis, "named after an ancient goddess recognizable as an archetype of the Earth Mother in perhaps all religions. According to the Gaia hypothesis, we are parts of a greater whole. Our destiny is not dependent merely on what we do for ourselves but also on what we do for Gaia as a whole."

In the Fourth of July speech Havel argued that the end of communism and colonialism has effectively brought the modern era, with its allegiance to rationalism and science, to a close.

"A modern philosopher once said: 'Only a God can save us now.' Yes, the only real hope of people today is probably a renewal of our certainty that we are rooted in the earth and, at the same time, the cosmos."

Kocarnik Urges Revaluation of Slovak Koruna

AU1608132694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by "ip": "Kocarnik Proposes Abolition of Clearing System"]

[Text] Prague—"If Slovakia does not adjust the exchange rate of its currency toward the clearing ECU by at least 5 percent and does not return it to the initial starting position, I will propose to the Czech Government our withdrawal from the payments agreement," Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told LIDOVE NOVINY in an interview yesterday.

The minister was reacting to the latest development in the Czech-Slovak clearing system, where the Czech Republic is hovering around the limit of the marginal credit, which the payments agreement set at 130 million ECU's.

"I asked Minister Filkus that Slovakia return the exchange rate of the Slovak koruna toward the clearing ECU to, at the very least, its level before the 5-percent devaluation of December 1993," Kocarnik said. "I see no reason that Czech exporters to Slovakia should be placed at a disadvantage, compared with exporters from the whole world," the minister added.

According to his own words, Kocarnik discussed the situation in the clearing system with Rudolf Filkus on 8 August. "I expected Minister Filkus to call me after our conversation. So far, he has not done so." As Kocarnik went on to say, in one of the provisions of the payments agreement, the two parties undertook the commitment that, if the deviation of the exchange rate of one of the currencies against the clearing ECU reaches the 5-percent limit and if this poses a threat to the economic and national interests of the other country, they will enter into negotiations on a possible solution without delay. Minister Kocarnik admitted, furthermore, that trading with Slovakia in freely convertible currencies was advantageous for the Czech Republic.

The Czech-Slovak Payments Agreement has been regulating mutual payments between the two republics since the division of the common Czechoslovak currency at the beginning of February 1993. According to the provisions of the intergovernmental agreement, payments for liabilities that originated before the currency split are recorded on the so-called old account in a one-to-one ratio. Payments for liabilities that originated after the currency split are recorded by the two national banks' clearing center in the current exchange rate of the two currencies against the clearing ECU.

Early this year, Slovakia paid the Czech Republic $90 million in two monthly installments for having exceeded the marginal credit. At the beginning of August, the Czech Republic paid Slovakia 64,000 ECU's for exceeding the marginal credit.

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Eighteen 'Entities' To Campaign in Election

AU1908064494 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Bohumil Olach: "Eighteen Political Entities Will Definitely Go Into the Election; Two Have Been Withdrawn From the Contest"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Electoral Commission (SVK) yesterday concluded its two-day session at which it decided definitively that the legal conditions for taking part in the election have been fulfilled by 18 political entities in the Bratislava Electoral District and 17 in the Western, Central, and Eastern Electoral Districts. The SVK has withdrawn two entities—the Party of Civic Concord and the Party of the Democratic Center. During yesterday's session, lots were also drawn for the serial numbers under which the political parties, movements, and coalitions will compete for the voters' support.

At a brief meeting with correspondents, SVK Chairman Juraj Nota said that the reason for the two political parties' exclusion from the election was connected with the violation of the paragraph of the law on elections that sets the requirement for petition sheets with signatures. For a party to be able to campaign, it must prove that it won at least 10,000 votes in the previous election or that it has at least 10,000 valid signatures from citizens who support its participation in the election. A sum total of votes and signatures is also possible. The Party of Civic Concord (SOS) attached petition sheets containing more than 10,000 signatures to its application, but, when it examined them, the Regional Electoral Commission (KVK) in Bratislava declared more than 10 percent of them invalid according to the law. The SVK set up 10 three-member groups and the petition sheets were examined again signature by signature, but SOS's protest was rejected. The petition sheets of the Party of the Democratic Center (known on account of its leader, J.V. Kasanicky) were checked in a similar manner, and its participation was also rejected. Apart from their exclusion from the election, the SVK also submitted its findings to the Prosecutor General's Office (GP SR) on the suspicion that the petition sheets had been falsified.

A similar finding was also issued against Social Democracy on the suspicion that its petition sheets had been falsified. However, the SVK is not authorized to consider this aspect. Therefore, it recognized the petition sheets but also submitted its finding to the GP SR. As far as the fuss surrounding the Association of Workers of Slovakia (ZRS) is concerned, the SVK did not receive an official recommendation. The KVK, however, ascribed certain doubts to it in its final decision. The SVK decided in favor of the ZRS's participation. In the matter of doubts being cast on the rightful successorship of the Democratic Party [DS] to the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] (with which it took part in the previous election in a coalition), the SVK recognized this successorship because, in the final analysis, the ODS merged with the DS at the beginning of this year.

In reply to a question from NARODNA OBRODA on whether something may still endanger the participation in the election of the political entities for which serial numbers have been drawn by lot, J. Nota said, "No, unless they were to withdraw themselves."

The SVK will now return the lists of candidates to the Regional Electoral Commissions, which, after making the necessary minor adjustments, will register them officially by 16 August and hand them over to the press. The SVK's next session will be held on 18 August.

The same paper, on the same date on page 2, under the headline "The Serial Numbers Drawn By Lot for the Political Parties, Movements, and Coalitions Competing for the Voters' Support," carries the following list of parties, movements, and coalitions with the number assigned to them for the election campaign:

1. Movement for a Prosperous Czecho-Slovakia
2. Social Democracy
3. Association of Workers of Slovakia
4. Magyar Koalicio-Hungarian Coalition (Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement; Egyutteles; Hungarian Civic Party)
5. Common Choice (Party of the Democratic Left; Social Democratic Party in Slovakia; Party of Greens in Slovakia; Farmers' Movement of Slovakia)
6. Democratic Union of Slovakia
7. Party Against Corruption—for Order, Work, and Money for Decent Citizens
8. Association for the Republic-Republicans
9. Democratic Party
10. Liberals
11. New Slovakia
12. Communist Party of Slovakia
13. Romany Civic Initiative in the Slovak Republic
14. Slovak National Party
15. Christian Democratic Movement
16. Movement for a Democratic Slovakia/Farmers' Party of Slovakia
17. Christian Social Union of Slovakia
18. Real Social Democratic Party of Slovaks]

Poll Shows Strongest Support for HZDS, Meciar

AU1808124394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Aug 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Popularity of the Political Groupings and Politicians"]

[Text] The FOCUS agency conducted a representative public opinion poll from 3 to 10 August 1994 involving a sample of 1,087 respondents. Some 79 percent of respondents (78 percent in July) will definitely or probably take part in the coming election.

The respondents gave the following replies to the question "Imagine that the parliamentary elections will take

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place this weekend. Which party, movement, or coalition will you vote for?":

	(in percent)	
	Jul	Aug
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia/ Farmers' Party of Slovakia	27.6	28.5
Common Choice	14.9	15.6
Hungarian Coalition	8.7	10.0
Christian Democratic Movement	9.4	8.7
Association of Workers of Slovakia	6.8	8.3
Democratic Union	8.8	8.1
Democratic Party	7.1	6.3
Slovak National Party	8.8	5.8
Christian Social Union	0.6	1.2
Others	1.6	0.7
Not decided	3.8	5.5
No answer	2.0	1.3

In reply to the question "Tell me, please, which personalities from current political and public life in Slovakia do you trust most?" the respondents gave the following answers (they had the option of giving more than one reply):

	Jul	Aug
V. Meciar	27.4	26.6
J. Moravcik	14.4	19.8
M. Kovac	14.8	19.2
P. Weiss	11.9	14.2
J. Luptak	4.1	7.0
J. Carnogursky	4.8	5.2
I. Gasparovic	4.8	5.2
V. Bugar	4.8	3.7
M. Dzurinda	—	2.9
J. Prokes	2.7	2.9
R. Kovac	2.1	2.7
J. Slota	3.3	2.7
B. Schmognerova	—	2.6
L. Ftacnik	—	2.1
E. Kukan	—	2.1
No one	22.0	19.0

Note: Only those politicians who gained more than 2.0 percent are listed.

'Anonymous' Deputies Push To Postpone Election

AU1908063594 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 13 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Petition Drive by National Council of the Slovak Republic Deputies Without Evidence"]

[Text] Bratislava—Signatures for a petition proposing the postponement of the parliamentary election have been collected in the parliamentary lobbies during meetings of National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] committees this week. This fact has been confirmed by several deputies, all of whom wish to remain anonymous.

Information on the total number of signatures is inconsistent, but the deputies said that 30 signatures were enough to put the issue on the agenda of the 37th NRSR meeting and that parliament would be under an obligation to discuss the proposal. The present number of signatures is therefore irrelevant, they said. None of the deputies wished to reveal the party or movement he represents in the NRSR, nor did anyone confirm that he had signed the petition himself. Some of the signatories are supposedly running again in this year's parliamentary election. The results of the petition drive could be published on 17 August, at the beginning of the 37th NRSR meeting. Speculation regarding the motives of the initiative to postpone the parliamentary election include the endeavor to extend the mandate of Jozef Moravcik's coalition government and to subsequently reconstruct it, as well as the endeavor to retain the post of NRSR deputy. The TA SR correspondent did not succeed in taking a look at the petition sheet initiating the adoption of a constitutional law that could cancel the date of holding the parliamentary election.

Civil Servants To Get Preelection Raise

AU1808152294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Wage Increase"]

[Text] Bratislava—Representatives of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ] of the Slovak Republic and members of the Cabinet discussed wage scale increases in budget-funded and subsidized organizations yesterday evening. A 20-percent across-the-board increase in tariff wages, proposed by the trade unionists, would have meant extra expenditures of 1.75 billion korunas [Sk] from the state budget between 1 September and the end of the year. At the same time, an across-the-board increase would have deepened the wage differentials between individual branches, which was finally rejected by the government, as well as by the trade union representatives. Because the budget rules for 1995 have not yet been fixed, the partners agreed that they would only deal with the situation up to the end of this year. The government will allocate, as of 1 September, Sk500 million for all budget-funded organizations for nontariff wage increases, with the exception of health care, for which it is ready to allocate an extra Sk250 million. The two partners will meet again in 10 days to determine precisely the sum to be allocated for each branch, said Kamil Vajnorsky, chairman of the Trade Union of Employees in Education and Science.

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Sentenced StB Chief To Receive New Trial

AU1908064394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 Aug 94 p 1

[Interview with Justice Minister Milan Hanzel by Juraj Hrabko; place and date not given: "If Alojz Lorenc Refuses To Serve His Prison Term in Slovakia, the Prosecutor's Office Will Investigate the Whole Case From the Beginning"]

[Text] On which basis will it be possible to start anew the criminal prosecution of Alojz Lorenc [former federal deputy minister of interior and chief of the communist secret police, StB, sentenced in October 1992 to four years on charges of abuse of public office by a military court in Tabor] if he refuses to serve his sentence in the Slovak Republic?

[Hanzel] All criminal prosecution bodies are bound by international agreements. Under the Slovak Constitution, in the sphere of human rights and freedoms, Slovak bodies are bound by international treaties if these grant broader rights and duties than domestic legislation. From this follows the duty to act.

[Hrabko] The offense for which Lorenc was sentenced occurred almost five years ago and on the territory of a state that no longer exists....

[Hanzel] Let me complicate the matter further. Looking at the matter from the present viewpoint, the offense occurred on the territory of a foreign state, and its consequences, too, stayed there. This is exactly why international agreements are being concluded—to make it possible to lodge criminal proceedings even if the offense had been committed on the territory of another state.

[Hrabko] Does this mean that, in the event of Alojz Lorenc's refusal to serve his sentence in the Slovak Republic, the Prosecutor's Office will investigate the whole case from the beginning?

[Hanzel] Yes.

[Hrabko] Is it possible that the result of the investigation will be different from that in the Czech Republic?

[Hanzel] I cannot predict the result of the criminal proceedings because the evidence will have to be furnished anew. It is not a simple file. It will be necessary to exclude from it that which has already been decided and which has no direct bearing on the offense itself.

[On the same day, on page 3, Bratislava SME in Slovak carries a 300-word "dos"-attributed report on a Democratic Party news conference held in Bratislava on 15 August. According to the report, Democratic Party Chairman Ivan Miklos "qualified as mind-boggling the fact that former StB Chief General, Alojz Lorenc, who has been rightfully sentenced, is not serving his sentence" and warned that "this might challenge the legitimacy of all legally valid verdicts from the time of the federation."]

Entrepreneurs Organization Established

AU1808153194 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Aug 94 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "News" column: "Association of Entrepreneurs and Managers Established"]

[Text] The constituent assembly of the Slovak Association of Entrepreneurs and Managers [Slovenska Asociacia Podnikatelov a Manazerov] (SAPaM) was held in Bratislava on 13 August, in the presence of delegates from all regions of Slovakia. The association's ambition is to be the vanguard of Slovak business and to expand its activities into the regions. Rastislav Machunka became SAPaM president.

Government, TU's Resolve Issues, Sign Document

AU1808152494 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 12 Aug 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Supplement to General Agreement Signed"]

[Text] Bratislava—A supplement to the General Agreement for 1994 was sig[illegible]n Bratislava yesterday by Prime Minister Jozef M[illegible]cik; Alojz Englis, president of the Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions; and Michal Lach, president of the Slovak Association of Employers Unions and Associations. The supplement enacts the last disputed points of the General Agreement for 1994—active employment policy, ratification of International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions, and a set of laws on the transformation of the social security system, the social fund, and the supplementary insurance system. Moravcik voiced the conviction that the General Agreement, which assumed final shape with its signing by all three partners, would contribute to maintaining social peace in Slovakia. He promised on behalf of the government to fulfill all articles of the General Agreement without delay and within the set time frame.

No Government Opposition to Ending Payment Pact

AU1808151894 Bratislava SME in Slovak 12 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "si": "The Slovak Republic Is Not Opposed to the Abolition of the Payments Agreement With the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Bratislava—Czech National Bank spokesman Martin Svehla told the daily DENNI TELEGRAF on 10 August that the clearing system in trade between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic would probably be abolished by the end of this year because it has lost its raison d'etre and the majority of mutual payments now take place in freely convertible currencies. According to Svehla, talks will be held in the fall, at which representatives of the parties involved will deliver their opinions on the further course of action. As Svehla noted, he would abolish the clearing system immediately. We

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therefore approached Slovak Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus to hear the opinion of the Slovak side: "If they think it is unprofitable to abide by the payments agreement and to trade on the basis of the clearing system, let them propose its abolition. So far, Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik only suggested, in line with Article 7 of the payments agreement, that, should a situation occur in which the permitted deviation from the exchange rate, which represents plus or minus 5 percent, has an extraordinary impact on the economy of either side, the affected party might request a solution to this problem. If they believe that the exceeding of the marginal credit and the exchange rate deviation have such a severe impact on them, we can deal with the matter. However, we have not spoken about an abolition of the payments agreement. If the Czech Republic proposes the abolition of the payments agreement, I do not think we will be opposed to it."

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Keleti Involved in Emergency Helicopter Landing

AU1808175094 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Aug 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Emergency Landing Near Belgrade"]

[Text] The military helicopter transporting Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti to Belgrade on 14 August developed engine trouble. A well-known expert of a Belgrade weekly informed MAGYAR HIRLAP about this on 17 August. Gyorgy Keleti himself also confirmed our information.

The Yugoslav expert, who requested to remain anonymous, told us that the Soviet-made military helicopter transporting Gyorgy Keleti from Subotica to Belgrade developed serious problems and it could only land successfully at Batajnica Airport thanks to the pilot's vigilence. According to the information, Gyorgy Keleti and his entourage were in danger of losing their lives, albeit only for a short time.

In connection with our information, Gyorgy Keleti said that the Yugoslav helicopter did indeed develop some trouble. However, the passengers did not notice anything. Aware of the fault, the pilot decided to break off the journey and carried out an "emergency" landing in an area close to Belgrade. According to Gyorgy Keleti, they landed smoothly, and he even thought that they had landed at the planned airport. Another helicopter arrived a few minutes later and the Hungarian defense minister and his entourage continued their journey smoothly.

It was learned from military circles that only the Hungarian side was thoroughly prepared for the talks between Gyorgy Keleti and his Yugoslav counterpart Pavle Bulatovic held on 14 August. Bulatovic showed uncertainty especially regarding the calling up of Vojvodinan young people and reserves. Almost the entire Yugoslav press kept silent about the meeting. Only the pro-government daily POLITIKA carried in its issue of 15 August a short TANJUG report that the two ministers had held talks in the spirit of good-neighborly relations.

Military Intelligence Head Views Activity, Tasks

AU1808152594 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 94 p 19

[Unattributed report on interview with Colonel Geza Stefan, head of the Military Security Office, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Specially Secret Intelligence Service"]

[Excerpts] The Military Security Office is perhaps the least known intelligence service. Its function is what the older generation knows as military intelligence, but there are considerable differences between the past and the present regarding the contents and the form of this organization's activity.

As Geza Stefan told us, the Military Security Office [KBH] is a secret service, but its functions are stipulated by law and, consequently, they are open to the public. One of the tasks of this organization is the protection of national security and supervision of persons involved in particularly important military activity and conducting security checks on persons nominated for such positions. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the fuel scandal in the Hungarian Army, Geza Stefan said these were sad developments that show that the Army cannot avoid the negative influences prevailing in our society. This case will soon reach the phase of prosecution, a case affecting officers and civilians alike, a total of 36 persons. The KBH has drawn the necessary conclusions. KBH personnel should be prepared for such cases, just like for cases involving trafficking in explosives and arms, and the production of drugs. We must face the fact that the crime wave does not avoid the Army either, and it is the task of the KBH to discover the common criminals in the Army. According to Geza Stefan, the KBH discovers 90 percent of these cases.

What about espionage? Our next question inquired about the number of possible spies in the Hungarian Army. According to Geza Stefan, naturally, they do not know this for sure. There are always people who are engaged in such activity out of a desire for adventure, money, or something else. This is the "human side" of this issue. The other side of this issue shows that the Hungarian Army, which is outside the existing military blocs, has become "more interesting" than previously for the intelligence services of other states.

The KBH cooperates with other domestic intelligence services. Given the nature of this activiy, details are not for publication. However, it can be divulged that they participate in the activity of the interministerial committee that coordinates the activity aimed at discovering the perpetrators of recent bombings in Budapest.

In connection with personnel matters, Geza Stefan told us that Major General Karoly Gyaraki is the only one to leave the KBH. The former head of the KBH is now using his six-months period of notice and will decide whether to accept one of the offered jobs or retire. [passage omitted]

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Ministry Received U.S. Demarche on Zacharski

LD1808210994 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Marian Zacharski, the Polish People's Republic superspy and head of Polish civil intelligence for three days, has handed in his resignation. [passage omitted]

President Lech Walesa had demanded Marian Zacharski's resignation. The United States also sent a note on the matter to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Grzegorz Dziemidowicz, Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman, confirmed the information that the United States had sent a note to the Polish Foreign Ministry about Zacharski's appointment.

[Begin Dziemidowicz recording] It was not a note but a demarche. In diplomatic language, this means a declaration by one side to another. The demarche concerned the appointment of Mr. Marian Zacharski. [end recording]

[Correspondent] A special declaration on the appointment was also prepared by the U.S. Department of State. Its spokesperson was to have read it during a news conference in Washington.

[Begin Maciej Kozlowski recording] As usual in such controversial cases, so-called press guidance had been prepared for the news conference by the spokesman, Michael McCurry. At the moment when the conference was to have begun, however, the news came through about President Walesa's decision to halt the appointment of Mr. Zacharski. This prepared version was modified, but no declaration was made because it was thought that the matter should not be given prominence. It was there in case the spokesman was asked. Because he was not asked, no official information by the Department of State was announced or published. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Both in the note and in the declaration, the concern of the United States about the appointment was stressed. President Lech Walesa demanded Zacharski's dismissal before the U.S. note arrived in Poland. On 17 August, the U.S. Department of Justice declared that Zacharski would be arrested and put in prison if he came to the United States. The United States was the only country to react to Zacharski's appointment. [passage omitted]

Demarche Detailed

WS1908110794 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Piotr Najsztub and Edward Krzemien: "Zacharski Resigns"]

[Text] *Marian Zacharski, the new chief of civilian intelligence and a former spy for the Polish People's Republic [PRL] in the United States, resigned yesterday. A day earlier, Washington protested the appointment of Zacharski in a demarche submitted to the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry [MSZ].*

The MSZ reaffirmed yesterday that the U.S. ambassador to Warsaw delivered a so-called demarche on Wednesday at about 2000. The MSZ spokesman refused to disclose the contents of the diplomatic notification.

What Was in the Demarche

GAZETA WYBORCZA has learned unofficially that the Americans expressed their astonishment over the appointment of Zacharski on Monday. They pointed out that Zacharski continues to be under a court verdict imposing life imprisonment for activities detrimental to U.S. security. There was also a statement in the demarche that the appointment of Zacharski "will not contribute to increasing Poland's chances for integration with Western security structures." Finally, the U.S. Government "urges the Polish Government to reconsider the appointment."

Washington's reaction was in the form of a so-called written demarche, which is an official statement by state authorities. It is a type of diplomatic intervention that is lower than a note. Demarches, which are usually communicated verbally, often get submitted in order to communicate a stand on a specific issue. If a demarche is also delivered in writing (as in this case), it means the issue must be very delicate.

According to MSZ sources, the U.S. response was perhaps the strongest over the past five years. As we learned, the case of Zacharski was debated at the highest level of the U.S. Government. It was dealt with by Anthony Lake, the President's security adviser, and Peter Tarnoff, under secretary for political affairs at the Department of State.

Who Was Consulted

Washington strongly denies that Zacharski's candidacy was the subject of consultation with anyone in the U.S. Government. It is known unofficially that talks were conducted with U.S. special services, and no opposition was expressed. Polsat Television reported yesterday that the CIA was hoping that Zacharski would lead to a "rehabilitation" of Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski, who had delivered to the Americans plans for martial law [introduced on 13 December 1981] and who still cannot return to Poland because a long-term court verdict against him issued by PRL courts is still in force.

As we learned unofficially, the appointment of Zacharski coincided with the decision to send Janusz Luks, a previous intelligence chief who was also a high-ranking official of PRL intelligence, to the Polish Embassy in Washington. He is to hold the post of an official representative of the Polish Office of State Protection [UOP] in the United States. Also, General Boleslaw Izydorczyk, chief of the Military Information Services (military

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intelligence and counterintelligence) until recently, is to become the Polish military attache in Washington. Izydorczyk was the PRL's military attache in Washington in the period 1982-84.

Zacharski's Statement

"Throughout my whole life, I was always guided by the good of the Polish State. I have never been, nor am I now, a political activist. In the name of loyalty toward Poland, construed this way, I spent four years in a U.S. prison. I have never tried to obtain any state post for myself. I accepted the offer to take up the post of chief of the Intelligence Department at UOP with the sense that I would be able to do something useful for my country.

"I submitted my resignation today, and I asked to be relieved of the post of chief of the Intelligence Department immediately. I do not want to be the reason for conflicts among Poles at a time when what Poland needs most is national consensus and peace. I am ready to serve Poland any time that may be deemed appropriate."

Zacharski is regarded as the PRL's most precious spy. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, he managed to obtain many priceless military secrets from the Americans, among them documentation of the radar-invisible Stealth aircraft, F-15 fighter planes, and the antimissile Patriot system. He was arrested by the FBI in 1981. He was subsequently convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. He returned to Poland in 1985 after an exchange of spies.

Olechowski Applied Pressure

As we learned unofficially during an urgent session of advisers organized by Lech Walesa on Wednesday, Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski warned against the danger of an unfavorable stand by the United States on the Zacharski appointment. The same day, both Jan Nowak-Jezioranski and Zbigniew Brzezinski warned that the appointment would be an obstacle in Poland's efforts to become a NATO member.

After the session, Walesa asked Minister Milczanowski to withdraw the appointment. As Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski admitted to the Information Radio Agency yesterday, Zacharski's candidacy had been the subject of consultation with Walesa. However, Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski of the President's Office said in an interview with the Third Radio Program yesterday that Walesa had not known about the Zacharski appointment and that he sent a letter to Milczanowski when he learned about the appointment.

"Prime Minister Pawlak intends to urgently ask the Internal Affairs Ministry and the MSZ to deliver to him information on the Zacharski case," Democratic Left Alliance leader Aleksander Kwasniewski told reporters after yesterday's meeting of the governing coalition. Kwasniewski himself did not comment on the issue.

'Dangerous Precedent' Feared

WS1908102294 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Aug 94 p 5

[Article by "IRE," "LUZ," and "POZ": "Intelligence—Marian Zacharski's Resignation; Was the PRL Superspy Removed Under U.S. Pressure?"]

[Text] Before the news broke about Marian Zacharski's resignation from the post of intelligence chief, the Sejm had had enough time to repel, through votes by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party, a motion coming from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], demanding a government report on the appointment of Zacharski.

Members of the KPN and the extraparliamentary right wing were the ones who most vigorously demanded an explanation. When it comes to the Freedom Union [UW], the approach to the appointment was a source of dispute: Krzysztof Kozlowski (a member of the Advisory Committee at the Internal Affairs Ministry) defended the decision, whereas Bronislaw Geremek (chief of the UW parliamentary club) launched an attack against it as a sign of disloyalty toward Poland's allies.

The theme was also picked up by SLD members who, however, used it to criticize the president. According to Janusz Zemke, Zacharski's resignation, made under U.S. pressure, creates a "dangerous precedent": "I am afraid that what the Americans want is to gain some special right to be consulted over staff decisions made in Polish special services," Zemke said.

"It is too early to expect U.S. reaction to Zacharski's resignation," Jan Nowak-Jezioranski told ZYCIE WARSZAWY on Thursday (his protests preceded Walesa's intervention). "Because Mr. Zacharski resigned on his own, the case is now closed. What I fear, however, is that the case will result in some distrust. Up to now, Poland was treated as an ally occupying a leading position in the allied camp. Zacharski's resignation was a relief to the camp's members."

Nowak-Jezioranski said he thought the president's decision "should be praised, even if he had made a mistake before." "There will be no official statements on Zacharski coming from politicians because, due to his resignation, the Americans took the stand that the case is an internal Polish affair," Nowak-Jezioranski added.

The "Wiadomosci" television newscast has learned unofficially that the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry received a note from the U.S. Department of State on Wednesday that expressed concern over the appointment of Zacharski but that also said that it was a sovereign decision made by Polish authorities. A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Justice, in turn, has said that if Zacharski were to come to the United States, he would be arrested.

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Zacharski Gives Reasons for Resignation

LD1808144194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1327 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Marian Zacharski, the head of the State Protection Office [UOP] Intelligence Directorate, today informed Jerzy Zimowski, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and in charge of the ministry, that he has submitted his resignation from the post to the UOP head, the Internal Affairs Ministry's press department announced.

Zacharski made the following statement:

"Throughout my entire life, I have always been guided by the interests of the Polish state. I have never been and I am not a political activist. For the sake of loyalty to Poland, I spent four years in a U.S. jail. I have never striven after any state post. I accepted the proposal to become head of the UOP Intelligence Directorate feeling that I would be able to do something good for my country.

"Today I submitted my resignation and asked to be relieved of my duties immediately. I do not want to be a cause of conflict between Poles, when national accord and agreement are what Poland most needs. I am ready to serve Poland at any time, whenever this is considered useful."

Zacharski became the head of the Intelligence Directorate on 15 August. His appointment met with widespread opposition among politicians. President Lech Walesa Wednesday asked the minister of internal affairs to change the decision on Zacharski's appointment.

Speculation on Walesa Strategy in Zacharski Case

WS1908085794 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Aug 94 p 1

[Commentary by Bronislaw Wildstein: "The Ace and the President"]

[Text] All signs indicate that Lech Walesa had known about the appointment of Marian Zacharski as intelligence chief. Yet, he officially protested the decision only after the subsequent scandal erupted. So there are essentially two possibilities here: Either the president was not really aware of the possible impact of making one who had been an ace of the Polish People's Republic intelligence services responsible for the security of the Third Polish Republic, or he deliberately gave his permission to the appointment of Zacharski, only to later oppose the decision at the appropriate time.

The first possibility would not be a very good demonstration of Walesa's sagacity. After all, the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW], apart from the National Defense and Foreign Affairs Ministries, is included in the domain of sovereign decisions of the head of state (which Walesa has stressed on many occasions).

The other possibility would make sense within the president's strategy that he has been applying for six months now, of presenting himself as a defender of the country against the communists' return.

Finally, there is another possibility, which is a combination of both hypotheses presented here: Lech Walesa approved the appointment of Zacharski because he thought it was not out of the ordinary, because it did not deviate from certain rules that have been applied by the MSW for some time now. However, when the case gained a lot of publicity, the president's decision was that now is the right time for trying to win a little more favor in society. Through his decision, the president further distanced himself from Minister Milczanowski, whom it will be possible to blame in the future for the communist resurgence in the MSW. The president is supposed to appear to the public as a defender of Poland against a communist agent occupying the post of intelligence chief. After all, he has always wanted what is best for the country.

Walesa Aide, Politicians on Zacharski Resignation

LD1808205694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1627 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Andrzej Zakrzewski, under secretary of state in the Presidential Chancellery, said in an interview for the Polish Radio Third Program that President Lech Walesa "did not know anything about Marian Zacharski's appointment" to the post of head of the State Protection Office [UOP] Intelligence Directorate and that, "when he learned about the appointment," he reacted by asking for Zacharski's dismissal in a letter to Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski.

"I think the decision made by Zacharski is right and can prevent a sharp conflict," [Union of Labor leader] Ryszard Bugaj said, adding that opinions on the decision of people who had appointed Zacharski were another matter. According to Bugaj, "there are hardly any other people in managerial posts in UOP other than those from the former security and intelligence apparatus." For Bugaj, the situation is "unacceptable."

Bugaj said on Radio Kolor that he wanted "to resign ostentatiously from his membership in the political committee attached to the internal affairs minister" due to the "bad performance of the ministry."

According to Jan Litynski [of the Freedom Union], "somebody ought to explain the mistaken decision" on Zacharski's appointment. Deputy Litynski considers the resignation "indispensable".

"It is good that Mr. Zacharski had the moral courage and resigned," Andrzej Gasiennica-Makowski [of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms] said. According to

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Gasiennica-Makowski, it is a "bad practice that public opinion and the president would react to personal matters at this level."

Janusz Piechocinski [of the Polish Peasant Party] said that "he does not understand what this big battle over Zacharski was about and who wanted to win and what." He stressed that there were even more questions to be answered following Zacharski's resignation. When asked about the role of the president in the "battle for Zacharski", he said that "it would be surprising if the president did not know what was going on in his departments" and added that he was all the more astonished by the president's withdrawing his support for Zacharski and the resignation of the latter.

Coalition Discusses Zacharski, Internal Affairs

WS1908090094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by E.K.: "Speculations Concerning Internal Affairs Ministry"]

[Text] Members of the governing coalition met in the Sejm late last night. They discussed issues related to the work of the Sejm and the government, the "Strategy for Poland," and the budget. A special topic of discussion was the condition of health care.

[Democratic Left Alliance Chairman] Aleksander Kwasniewski reported that there was also discussion about the candidates for the post of chief commandant of the police, and, even though it is not a problem of the coalition, the nomination and recall of Marian Zacharski as chief of intelligence. To become familiar with the last issue, the prime minister will soon meet with the ministers of internal and foreign affairs. Kwasniewski admitted that he himself knew too little about the case.

"The entire issue is rather surprising. As one decided on this nomination, one could have expected various reactions. On the other hand, the nervousness that surfaced after the fact cannot be well justified because stress was placed on the candidate's expertise, and, as far as this side of things is concerned, the Americans also do not have any doubts about that," he said.

There was unofficial talk in the Sejm about the possibility of recalling Internal Affairs Deputy Minister Jerzy Zimowski. There are rumors that the president will not agree to such a finale to the "Zacharski case," in which Minister Milczanowski would be recalled. Unofficially, Waldemar Pawlak would be willing to accept such a solution—on the condition, however, that Zenon Smolarek's successor in Main Police Headquarters is a candidate proposed by the prime minister.

According to Kwasniewski, during the coalition's meeting, the possibility of recalling Zimowski was not discussed; the most serious candidate for police chief is Boguslaw Strzelecki, who was proposed by Milczanowski. Kwasniewski admitted that the final decision has not yet been made and that there are two candidates for this position.

During the coalition meeting, Health Minister Jacek Zochowski submitted the government's "strategy for health"—that is, a collection of bills that are supposed to improve the situation in this sector. They include, among other things, draft laws on guaranteed services, on changes in health insurance, and on the flow of money between health service units.

Reportage on Slovak Prime Minister's Visit

Received by Walesa

LD1808181294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1339 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Polish President Lech Walesa has received Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, who is paying an official visit to Poland, the presidential press office reported on 18 August.

"Your country and mine have much more to offer, but it is not being fully used," the Polish president said, greeting his guest at the palace in Otwock.

The main topic of the conversation, which lasted an hour, was European and regional cooperation. The Slovak prime minister stressed that events in Poland were observed in his country with great interest.

Greater cooperation within the Visegrad Group to implement common political and economic goals was also discussed. The most important matter is membership of the European Union and European security structures, the press office statement says.

10 Bilateral Agreements Signed

LD1808170194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] A one-day official visit paid by Jozef Moravcik, the prime minister of the Slovak Republic, was an opportunity to sign 10 bilateral agreements. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who this morning in the Council of Ministers' office met the Slovak delegation with Prime Minister Moravcik, said that talks between the ministers allowed us to specify our cooperation in many areas. According to the prime minister, agreements on the transport infrastructure were of great importance.

[Begin Pawlak recording] The agreements signed today are on mutual protection of investments, avoidance of double taxation, and agricultural cooperation. There are also agreements on cooperation in both rail and air transport, and agreement on border cooperation. Agreements on legal and border regulations are currently being negotiated. This creates conditions for broad cooperation in various fields. [end recording]

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Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik expressed satisfaction with agreements signed today and said that they would form a good basis to broaden cooperation.

[Begin Moravcik recording in Slovak with superimposed Polish translation] We are vary glad that work on many further agreements is in progress. Altogether, they will form a good legal as well as a treaty-supported framework for our contacts and cooperation. In our opinion, present cooperation does not correspond to the potential of both sides. We are particuiarly interested in broadening economic cooperation. [end recording]

The prime minister of the Slovak Republic also met President Lech Walesa.

Discussion With Sejm Speaker

LD1808204094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1628 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy received Slovak Prime Minister Josef Moravcik today, the Sejm Chancellery's Information Office [BIKS] reports.

The main subject of the talks was both countries' positions on the issue of European security and integration and regional cooperation within the Visegrad Group. Expanding and reviving economic exchange and economic cooperation in Central and East Europe is an important task for all of the countries of the region that are linked by concurrent views and problems.

Another important problem raised in the conversation was the issue of access for our region's goods to EU countries' markets. The advancement of processes aimed at adapting both countries' laws and economies to European standards was also discussed.

Speaker Oleksy thanked Prime Minister Moravcik once again for Slovakia's presence at the ceremonies to mark the anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, the BIKS communique received by PAP states.

Social, Economic Neglect of Silesia Deplored

MM1808105894 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 12 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "JAD": "Unwanted Region: The National Debt to Silesia Is Growing; We Are Still a Colony in Warsaw's Eyes; Poland's Industrial Heart Condemned to Languish; No Weather for 4 Million"]

[Text] Katowice—During a visit to Katowice Voivodship last month, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said that, in his personal opinion, a certain proportion of state tax revenues should remain in Silesia. And that was where the matter rested.

Well, it was at least better than the presidential adage that everyone simply has to fend for himself. It appears that those who point out aloud that it is necessary to throw aside the myth-ridden beliefs associated with the goodwill declarations on the part of successive central authorities are correct, after all. Even so, Silesia's problems are too serious to be capable of being resolved at the local level. But, for the time being at least, Upper Silesia is only remembered when something out of the ordinary happens here. Most often, that involves strikes, on which some people are determined to build political capital.

But Upper Silesia's problems are there for all to see. Platitudes about the industrial heart of Poland are being bandied about ad nauseam: that 15 percent of Poland's industrial enterprises are concentrated here; that almost 100 percent of our bituminous coal extraction take place here; that almost 50 percent of all Polish passenger vehicles are manufactured here; that more than half of the output of Polish steel is smelted here. Some 20 percent of the national income is created here.

These statistics account for only one side of the picture, while the other side is less alluring. Without exception, in all sectors of the voivodship, every conceivable standard for the permitted concentration of harmful substances in the atmosphere, soil, water, and food is regularly exceeded. Disastrous damage to the environment leads to a situation whereby almost 1 million people spend all of their time every day in surroundings that are harmful to their health. The results are there for all to see: The incidence of tuberculosis is three times the national average; cancer is more prevalent in Silesia than elsewhere; and almost 45 percent of pregnant women suffer from pathological pregnancy conditions. In Bytom-Rozbark, the deaths-to-births ratio stood recently at 50-plus:1,000, while, at the same time, the corresponding nationwide proportion was 17:1,000.

Examples of this kind abound. Upper Silesia has long ceased to be Poland's answer to El Dorado. According to 50 percent of its inhabitants, living conditions here are inferior in comparison to those in other parts of the country. Indeed, in many spheres that are customarily used to define the living standard, such as, for example, telecommunications, we are lagging far behind. The lion's share of tax revenues from Upper Silesia is retained in Warsaw, and we receive less money per head of population from the central budget than, say, do Lodz or Warsaw Voivodships. According to some, Upper Silesia is still a colony, and the national debt to Silesia is increasing.

The neighboring voivodships are making good progress. We, on the other hand, are left with antiquated industries that require urgent restructuring. The mining and steel industries determined the character of this region for many years in the past, and all spheres of public life remained subordinate to them. This must be changed, but such changes result in the emergence of tremendous social problems, among which unemployment holds pride of place. After all, almost 60 percent of all employed in Katowice Voivodship work in these sectors. This circumstance affects all aspects of life here.

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To restructure this "fossilized earth mass" of Upper Silesia, it is essential that radical transformations be carried out. We need a new, long-term program or even a vision of civilizational development, which should be promoted far and wide throughout the area and beyond. We need a long-term plan so that people are aware of what lies ahead. We need people able to implement such a program: a voivoda commanding the same powers and the same budget as are vested in voivodas representing other regions, and also people prepared to link their own futures to that of the region. The moribund Silesia, which is what some people dub it, needs to have new life breathed into it.

The policy pursued by the "center" effectively obliterates Silesia from the minds of most Poles. The capital of a voivodship with a population of 4 million has not even made it to the national weather map....

Katowice Voivodship	National Ranking
Unemployment in absolute figures	First
Pollution and degradation of natural environment	First
Number of telephones per 100,000 population	Twenty-fourth
Number of fax facilities per 100,000 population	Forty-third
Number of cinema and theater seats	Forty-fifth
Number of apartments built in 1993	Last

Telecommunications Development Plan Up to 2000

94P21082A Warsaw PRZEGLAD RZADOWY in Polish No 5, May 94 pp 89-92

[Statement by Minister of Communications Andrzej Zielinski; place and date not given: "Strategic Plan for Telecommunications Development to the Year 2000"]

[Text] Last October, the government adopted a program for the development of Polish telecommunications. The January issue of PRZEGLAD RZADOWY published the report on its implementation. In the near future, the Council of Ministers will be briefed by Minister Andrzej Zielinski on progress in the implementation of the tasks.

Expansion of the International Network by Increasing the Number of Connections and Bundle Capacity

The entire volume of international telecommunications traffic runs through three digital exchanges in Warsaw, Katowice, and Poznan. Automatic international traffic is sent to 108 countries throughout the world. Digital as well as analog transmission systems are used. The ultimate goal is to use digital systems exclusively because they make nontelephone services possible as well.

To open new connections and to incrase the capacity of existing international cables, the following are being used:

—Satellite systems under development: INTELSAT, EUTELSAT, INTERSPUTNIK.

—Fiber-optic systems in connections with neighboring countries:

—The coastal line from Koszalin to Copenhagen (already in service).

—Surface lines: from Cieszyn to Prague (already in service), from Zgorzelec to Frankfurt am Main (already in service), from Suwalki to Kowno (already in service), from Warsaw to Minsk (construction scheduled for 1995), from Poznan to Berlin (already in progress), and from Krakow to Lvov (already in progress).

Because there is no direct digital connection with Russia, talks are being held on extending the fiber-optic line from Minsk to Moscow and on the possibility of constructing a fiber-optic line to Kaliningrad.

It is expected that, in 1995, there will be a total of 9,410 two-way links, including 5,547 in Warsaw, 1,620 in Poznan, and 1,920 in Katowice. In the year 2000, 18,230 links are anticipated, including 9,410 in Warsaw, 4,020 in Poznan, and 4,800 in Katowice.

The separate, business-oriented KOMERTEL, which offers a significantly wider range of telecommunications services than the public network (ISDN services), already has 2,500 subscribers and may expand.

Within the INMARSAT satellite system, the construction of a new station to permit mobile telephone or telex satellite communication, the so-called INMARSAT M or C, has been planned. This network will make it possible to provide telecommunications services for domestic and foreign surface transport as well as maritime and coastal transport throughout the world.

Completion of the New Long-Distance Automatic Exchange Network

As far as switching is concerned, this program covers 49 long-distance exchanges, including 12 transit long-distance exchanges. The completion of the construction of these exchanges is scheduled for 1996. To date, 38 exchanges have been constructed, with 208,590 links. The other 12 exchanges will have 36,960 links. These exchanges will be connected by a network of digital links, and, to facilitate their interaction, signaling system No. 7 (ISUP) will be employed.

At present, analog systems predominate in the long-distance network. In the future, the Ministry of Communications will strive to use a mostly digital network in transmitting.

The first digital systems that were built in the trunk network were the submarine fiber-optic cable from Koszalin to Bornholm (Denmark), implemented in a 140 Mb/sec system, and the Koszlin-Warsaw digital radio

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link, in a 140Mb/s system, as well as several fiber-optic local lines on the regional level in the eastern and southwestern provinces.

Construction has begun on the following:

—The Koszalin-Gdansk-Bydgoszcz-Warszawa-Krakow-Katowi ce-Cieszyn fiber-optic line, which is equipped with 140 Mb/s hardware manufactured by NKT (Denmark), approximately 1,500 km long.

—The Zgorzelec-Wroclaw-Sieradz-Lodz-Warsaw-Olsztyn fiber-optic line, with a branch to Sieradz-Poznan-Bydgoszcz, equipped with 140 mb/sec hardware manufactured by AT&T (USA and the Netherlands), approximately 1,300 km long.

—Sixteen 140 Mb/s digital radio links manufactured by NEC (Japan), over 3,000 km long.

At the turn of 1993/94, most of the lines went into operation. These lines provide digital connections for over 30 operational long-distance exchanges and, at the same time, make it possible to hook up the digital connections of the three international exchanges in Warsaw, Poznan, and Katowice with European and worldwide long-distance networks.

Modernization of Major Telecommunications Centers

The telecommunications centers in Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow, Szczecin, and other large Polish cities will continue to expand.

This year, telecommunications centers, with a total volume of 739 000 NN [expansion unknown], will be incorporated into the network, including:

—Warsaw center—150,000 NN

—Krakow center—183,000 NN

—Katowice center—173,000 NN

—Poznan center—87,000 NN

Development of the Mobile-Landline Radio Communication Network

Currently, the cellular network of the NMT 450-CENTERTEL system serves 16,000 subscribers in Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Szczecin, and Wroclaw, as well as in the greater Gdansk and Katowice areas.

As of January 1994, about 80 base stations (with 113 cells each) were in operation, with the possibility of hooking up 30,000 additional subscribers. Approximately 30 percent of Poland's territory, with almost 50 percent of the population, is served by this network. By the end of 1994, the network will encompass 60,000 mobile stations, which will allow 70-75 percent of the population access to the network. According to research by Polish Cellular Telephone, at the turn of 1994/95, it will be possible to reach this network's technical break-even point. This situation can be avoided by introduction of the Pan-European GMS 900 system, but, at this time, this frequency is occupied by another user.

—***The CT2 and DECT wireless telephone systems.*** The CT2 has not attracted a great deal of attention in the world (France, East Asia). The DECT system is more technically advanced than the CT2. Introduction of this system can be expected by 1996, provided a frequency allocation is available.

—***The DSMR dispatch system.*** The dispatch system of RadioNet is not developing dynamically (there are a relatively small number of subscribers), and, therefore, no work is being done on new versions of it.

—***The ERMES paging system.*** Demand for ERMES services depends to some extent on expansion of the GMS cellular telephone and must be preceded by market research. Fast implemmentation of the ERMES system is possible using the locations and infrastructure of the 160 MHz mobile bases.

Expansion of Mobile Maritime and Aviation Radiocommunication

In the INMARSAT satellite system, the construction of a new station that would enable mobile telephone and telex satellite communication (so-called INMARSAT or C) has been planned. This station will offer its customers telecommunications services for domestic and foreign ground and maritime transport all over the world.

Introduction of the GMDSS maritime rescue system. As a part of this system, a medium-wave link has been installed in the middle of the coastline at the station "Witowo Radio" in Jaroslawiec, serving Polish zone A-2 (covering the Baltic and neighboring regions). The link is equipped with hardware for DSC digital selective calling on international frequency f = 2187.5 kHz. This link is connected to the Polish Maritime Rescue Service in Gdynia via a leased exchange line. An additional standby link for zone A-2 is being considered at "Gdynia-Radio."

The VHF GMDSS system has obliged Poland to set up an A-1 zone by 1995, which means that a zone of 20-30 nautical miles along the coast will be covered by VHF channel 70 for DSC calling in emergency situations and channel 16 for safety communication. Under these circumstances, the VHF network along the Polish coastline will be given new branches in Leba nad Krynica Morska.

Introduction of a communications system for airline passengers (TFTS). On Polish territory two ground stations have been planned, one near Gdansk and other near Lodz. Neither LOT [Polish National Airlines] nor the ZRL [Air Traffic Board] has so far expressed any interest in this proposal.

Nontelephone Networks

Paging services. The only all-Poland paging network is POLPAGER (operator TP SA). This network serves

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approximately 30 percent of all paging services. Currently, POLPAGER has 8,000 subscribers, and the number is increasing steadily. Other competing agencies are TELEPAGE, BELLPAGETTE, and others.

POLPAGER uses USW transmitters belonging to TP SA as well as private transmitters. Digital recivers that can receive only digits, or alphanumeric receivers that receive up to 64 text characters are used.

Data transmission in an X.25 packet network. The POLPAK data transmission network includes 18 nodes located in major cities and has about 1,320 ports, 700 of which are already in use. The network allows operation according to protocols X.25, X.28, X.32, based on the 1984 CCITT requirements. The speed between nodes is 9.6 Kb/s, which means that the POLPAK network is less useful connecting remote LANs and, in its present version, serves mainly to connect individual terminals. The network is directely connected to packet networks in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, and, through them, to about 70 X.25 networks around the world. Modernization of the POLPAK network in 1994 includes:

—Switching to digital links in international traffic between centers.

—Giving customers access to digital links and increasing the speed on them to 64 Kb/sec.

—More nodes (Bydgoszcz, Kielce) and the installation of so-called concentators in order to increase network range and the number of ports.

In addition, the purchase of a new software network that would allow separation of virtual networks meeting CCITT X.25 requirments (1988) is under consideration.

The MHS news service system. Some elements of the MHS service system support the POLKOM system in Warsaw. It is mainly intended for international retransmission of telegrams and also offers electronic mail, "store and forward" service for faxes, and information mode conversion—for example, telex to fax. POLKOM is not connected to the packet network and is therefore outmoded. The purchase of a modern MHS system is planned, (with electronic mail) operating under the X.400 standard with the X.500 electronic teleaddress book and an electronic document interchange (EDI) module. The installation of one to three modules connected to the POLPAK network has been planned initially, with a capacity of 2,000-2,500 boxes. The technical requirments have been met. Provided there are the financial means for it, this system could be in place within a year.

Audiotext services. In 1994, modern audio information services and talk shows are to be introduced on a trial basis and, in the future, audio mail, televoting, etc.

ISDN services. In 1994, a pilot ISDN system (a module with a capacity of 512 subscribers) will be installled in a 5ESS exchange in the KOMERTEL network. Prepartions have been made for a pilot ISDN network in Warsaw that will utilize other exchanges of types ESWD and 1000 S12.

Construction of a high-speed skeleton data transmission network. This modern transmission network will facilitate the "Frame Relay." The international transit nodes would be located in one to three cities, and the other nodes would be located in 10 large Polish towns. The internode speed will be a minimum of 2Mb/s, with fiber-optic cables and digital radio lines. If funds are provided, the network can be finished within a year.

Activation of the VSAT satellite network. The VSAT network was ready for operation at the end of 1993. It uses AT&T equipment and has central stations (a hub) and 80 VSAT satellite terminals. This network makes it possible to transmit data according to X.25 at a speed of 64Kb/s between terminals, as well as to and from subscribers to the POLPAK network. Plans call to use the VSAT network in telephony in the future.

The current central station equipment makes it possible to control a network of about 2,000 VSAT terminals.

The central station VSAT operates a network of more than 100 VSAT terminals in Hungary under the terms of an agreement between TP SA and the Hungarian MONTANA organization.

Regulatory Policy

The work on amending the law on communications is nearing completion. The document is being studied by various ministries.

The procedures for issuing licenses for telecommunications activities and official certification have been determined. The formation of the regulatory agency for these activities is under way, and consultants paid from the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] fund are participating in it.

Policy to Finance Telecommunications Development

By the end of 1993, 73.6 percent of the credits from the World Bank, in the amount of $120 million, and 70 million ECU's from the European Investment Bank had been used.

These credits financed the following:

—MITUI-NEC (radio lines), contract value $22 million, 95 percent used.

—AT&T Network Systems Nederland B.V. (fiber-optic cables), contract value $30 million, 75.3 percent utilized.

—Satellite Transmission Systems (EUTELSAT), contract value $5 million, 76.5 percent utilized.

—Siemens AG (international exchanges), contract value 44.7 million ECU's, 68.6 percent utilized.

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A Korean Government loan of $50 million for supplying telephones to the Opole voivodship, 89 percent utilized at the end of 1993.

A loan from the Spanish Government in the amount of $58.9 [as published], devoted to contracts with ALCATEL SESA/SETEL, to be utilized for subscriber exchanges, transit exchanges, and relays, 100 percent utilized.

The second-quarter credit agreement for this year between TP SA and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development on a $100 milion credit for expansion and modernization of the Warsaw Telecommunications Center.

The World Bank and the European Investment Bank have indicated a willingness to issue a follow-on credit for TP SA for construction and modernization of local networks in the amount of $600 million, to be utilized in 1994-97. To obtain this credit, State Treasury guarantees are needed.

In 1994, implementation of the plan titled "Expansion and Modernization of the Telecommunications Network in Gdansk Voivodship" (the so-called Gdansk Proposal). This plan will be financed by credits from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, a consortium of private banks led by ABN-Amro from the Netherlands and a credit acceptance firm—namely, AT&T—totaling $127 million. These credits will be paid off from future revenue derived from new subscribers.

In the State draft budget for 1994, 95 billion zlotys have been allocated to provide telephone service to rural areas.

Fee Policy

The rules on telecommunications fees were changed recently. The European model was adopted. Schedule fees have been "leveled."

Technical Policy

An executive order from the Minister of Communication dated 16 July 1993 describes the technical and operating requirements and conditions for interoperability of telecommunications devices, cables, and networks being used on the territory of the Polish Republic.

Personnel Policy

Because the development of a telecommunications network requires highly skilled personnel, training sponsored by PHARE 92 is being given in the Ministry.

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Prime Minister Vacaroiu Reshuffles Cabinet

AU1808181794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Romanian Prime Minister Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu has reshuffled the cabinet today in accordance with his prerogatives. Mr. Ioan Oancea, minister of agriculture and food, has been replaced by Mr. Valeriu Tabara, and Mr. Andrei Chirica, minister of telecommunications, has been replaced by Mr. Adrian Turicu. The replacement of the two ministers was determined by the need to vitalize the activity in these most important sectors of the national economy and by the prime minister's desire to have young and energetic experts with a modern managerial spirit as holders of these two portfolios—a communique received from the government's spokesman reads.

Mr. Valeriu Tabara was born in Salciua Commune, Alba County on 1 July 1949. He took his Ph.D. in agricultural sciences in 1984 and has been an agriculture lecturer with the Banat University in Timisoara. He is a parliamentary deputy on behalf of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] for Timis County. He is married with two children.

Mr. Adrian Turicu was born in Arad on 8 May 1952. He graduated from the Bucharest Electronics Institute. Currently he is manager of ROMTELECOM company in Maramures. He belongs to the PUNR. He is married, with two children.

CSCE Official: Education Law 'Essential'

AU1808191594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] At the end of the visit paid to our country at the invitation of the Romanian Government, Mr. Max van der Stoel, CSCE high commissioner for national minorities, held a news conference in Victoria Palace today.

Despite the fact that his visit was not meant to inspect or impose certain viewpoints but rather to try to lend support if sensitive problems arose in connection with minorities, Mr. Max van der Stoel said that the talks with government and minority representatives were of a confidential nature; thus, he will not disclose the comments made on those occasions.

He stressed that among the issues discussed were the draft education law in the form adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, the probable content of a law regarding minorities, the possibility of endorsing an organic law regarding the ombudsman, the future Romanian-Hungarian treaty, the Balladur plan, and the future CSCE seminar regarding the problems of Romanies. Expressing the hope that the recommendations he made during his visit will be respected, Mr. Max van der Stoel assessed that two of them are essential—the endorsement of the education law and the law on minorities. The guest mentioned that the interethnic problems in Romania can be solved over time through good faith, cooperation, and understanding by all sides. Mr. Max van der Stoel thanked the Romanian Government for the openness it displayed and the access granted to information, as well as for facilitating contacts with people and institutions that he wished to meet with, our editor Septimiu Roman informed us.

Mr. Max van der Stoel today also met with Mr. Bela Marko, president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], at the party's central headquarters.

In the declaration exclusively granted to our radio station, Mr. Bela Marko noted that today's meeting occasioned the clarification of certain issues that had remained unsolved during previous discussions—issues that refer to education in the mother tongue of ethnic minorities and the education law in general.

Minister on Education 'Tensions'

AU1808191694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] The CSCE high commissioner [Mr. Max van der Stoel] today was received by Education Minister Liviu Maior.

According to the press communique released by the Ministry of Education following the meeting, discussions were held on issues connected with debates on and the endorsement of the education law, with particular emphasis on education in the mother tongue of ethnic minorities in Romania. Regarding the issue of teaching Romanian history and geography, it was pointed out that, in the future, issues regarding the history of nationalities in our country will be included in history books.

Likewise, the two sides approached aspects of confessional and religious education and the organization of professional and vocational education.

In connection with secondary school education in the mother tongue of ethnic minorities in Romania, it was mentioned that there is and will be one single such university in Cluj, namely Babes-Bolyai University, reads the communique of the Ministry of Education.

The minister of education revealed the harmony that exists between the draft education law passed by the Chamber of Deputies and the regulations included in European documents regarding the education of ethnic minorities. From this viewpoint, reads the communique that we received from the Press Service of the Ministry of Education, it was stressed that there are no real tensions in the field of Romanian education, just artificial friction, and that the current campaign provoked by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] is a political campaign that is in contradiction with the situation regarding education of minorities in Romania.

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Prime Minister Briefs NATO Leader on PFP

AU1708173494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 17 Aug 94

[Text] This morning, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received a military delegation led by Admiral Paul Miller, supreme commander of Allied Forces Atlantic, who is paying a visit to our country. The meeting was attended by Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of staff of the Romanian Army.

In his address, the prime minister briefed the guests on the current concerns of the Romanian State institutions with consolidating the rule-of-law state and the country's economic and social stability, on whose foundation Romania can make a greater contribution to ensuring a climate of peace and security in our geographic zone. The prime minister emphasized that Partnership for Peace [PFP] is particularly important for our country in the current circumstances, adding that this complex program is but a first step toward our country's integration into Euro-Atlantic structures. This integration is perceived by the Romanian people as a guarantee of security and confidence in the future.

After the meeting with the prime minister, Adm. Paul David Miller told our radio station the following: It has been a pleasure to visit Romania as a guest of Gen. Cioflina. I had the opportunity of presenting NATO's viewpoint on the PFP and, together with Gen. Cioflina—who is one of our partners in this program—we discussed matters pertaining to the joint armed forces involved in this program. We exchanged views on the future. This was a very good visit, although much too short. I have been here in Romania for only 27 hours. I was able to learn about the activities being carried out here. I will take the information gathered here to Norfolk, the State of Virginia. I have pleasant memories about Gen. Cioflina's visit last year and we will continue our close relations. I am looking forward to come back to your country for a longer stay.

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Autonomy Concept

AU1808154194 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 13 Aug 94 p 3

[Interview with Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Zoltan Udvardy; place and date not given: "The Autonomy Concept Is Unchanged—In Hungarian, But for How Long?"]

[Text] In recent days, the Romanian press has vigorously reacted to the Marko interview published in the MERIDIAN newspaper, in which he expressed that, in his view, a special status is needed in the areas populated mainly by Hungarians. We interviewed Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], on the autonomy concept and the basic treaty.

[Udvardy] Has the RMDSZ autonomy concept changed recently?

[Marko] We formulated our ideas on the autonomy in our national minority program, therefore, our concept is rather clear: We talk about personal, cultural, and regional autonomy. The latter would mostly be needed in areas where the Hungarians are living in clusters. I said the same to the MERIDIAN newspaper but, on the basis of Bulgarian and Romanian newspaper opinions published in recent days, many people believe that we have reworded our original program. However, this is not at all the case.

[Udvardy] After your talks with [Hungarian Prime Minister] Gyula Horn and Csaba Tabajdi [political state secretary responsible for national minority issues], you agreed to continue to maintain contact and coordinate your steps. Have you had any more contact since then?

[Marko] We have consulted with Tabajdi since then and discussed our ideas. We are able to coordinate our operation with the new Hungarian Government because we agree on the basic elements.

[Udvardy] The issue of guarantees has been raised in connection with the [bilateral] basic treaty many times. Can you see any chance for the national minority rights to be observed?

[Marko] We have to find the guarantees that can be included in the text of the basic treaty. Generalities are of no use to us; we need concrete solutions. It is not a good omen that, using my statement and certain statements of Gyula Horn, the government's official and semi-official mouthpieces are already now attacking the RMDSZ and the new Hungarian leadership. However, the basic treaty is not a one-off agreement; rather, it is a process. As for the national minority issue, it depends on the Romanian side's will and attitude whether they are willing to ensure the guarantees that are necessary for observing the minority rights.

[Udvardy] The new school year will begin soon. According to the new Romanian education law, the professional subjects cannot be taught in Hungarian. Do you expect this new regulation to come into force when the school year begins?

[Marko] Parliament will discuss the education bill in September. If it is accepted in its current form then education in Hungarian language will cease to exist in the vocational schools. In fact, they do not need to wait for the parliamentary debate; the government can decide to suspend mother tongue education in several Hungarian institutions at the beginning of the school year. We are all hoping that this step will not be taken.

Counterterrorism Brigade Ready for Action

AU1908103294 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 12 Aug 94 p 12

[Radu Tudor article: "Nine Extremist-Terrorist Organizations Are Operating on Romania's Territory"]

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[Text] Lately, due to the bloody attacks against representations of the State of Israel throughout the world and on Romanian territory, the authorized bodies are on the alert. The main body that ensures counterterrorist protection in our country is the Counterterrorism Brigade of the Romanian Intelligence Service. Currently, the greatest misfortune for those who might attempt a terrorist attack is the fact that the Israeli Embassy and the headquarters of the Counterterrorism Brigade are located next to each other on Toamnei Street in Bucharest. Because it benefits from a good information service, the Counterterrorism Brigade is capable of coping, through its elite fighters, with any undesirable situation. Established in accordance with the model of similar services in Israel and Germany (Mosad and GSG 9), the Counterterrorism Brigade currently has to face extremist-terrorist organizations that also have representatives on Romania's territory.

Among these organizations I can mention the following:

1. Sikh Group (the members of this organization assassinated Indira and Rajiv Ghandi and they kidnapped the Romanian Ambassador to India Liviu Radu and tried to assassinate India's ambassador to Bucharest in 1991).

2. The Muslim Organization.

3. The Muslim Brothers.

4. Hamas—pro-Syrian.

5. Hizballah—pro-Iranian.

6. "Al Fatah Falcons" organization—the terrorist branch of various movements fighting for the liberation of Palestine.

7. Abu Nidal—one of the bloodiest Arab extremist-terrorist organizations; it is named after its leader and it constantly resorts to massacres and attacks that claim as many victims as possible aimed at stopping by all means an understanding between Israel and the Arab countries.

8. Islami Hareket.

9. PKK—The Labor Party of Kurdistan, of Marxist-Leninist orientation, militates in all possible ways for the establishment of a Kurdish state and to halt Turkish and Iraqi oppression. It also has branches in Romania and an intensification in the activity of this organization has been reported recently.

All these terrorist organizations, together with the Chinese and Russian mafia organizations on Romania's territory, racketeers within the CIS, and the proliferation of arms and explosive materials trafficking, add a quite gloomy picture to the activities in our country. The Counterterrorism Brigade, the elite force of the Romanian Intelligence Service, has all its troops ready to prevent all attempts or acts of kidnapping or abduction through special actions. In the field of counterterrorism policy, the Romanian State is cooperating with a country that has the greatest experience in this area, namely with Great Britain. Through their specific training, the counterterrorism fighters are ready to fiercely fight against all possible offenders.

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Kozic Elected Bosnian Serb Prime Minsiter

LD1808204494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—The people's assembly of the Srpska republic this evening unanimously elected Dusan Kozic the new prime minister of the Srpska republic, SRNA agency reports. The agency also states that 43 deputies voted in favor of Kozic's proposal for a new cabinet, six were against, and nine abstained. [passage omitted]

Kozic Presents Program

LD1808162094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—A session of the Bosnian Serb national assembly to approve the appointment of a new cabinet opened in the Bosnian Serb political center of Pale on Thursday morning.

The Bosnian Serb News agency SRNA has reported that Bosnian Serb prime minister-designate Dusan Kozic presented his government program at the start of the assembly session.

Kozic announced that a war economy plan would be implemented if the Yugoslav political and economic sanctions against the Bosnian Serb republic lasted over a month and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina escalated.

The Yugoslav Government severed political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serb republic on August 4 after the Bosnian Serb assembly referred the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia to a referendum vote on August 27-28.

The new cabinet will represent a major reshuffle. The new defense minister is to be Milan Ninkovic, the Interior Ministry is to go to Zivko Rakic and the Finance Ministry to Ranko Pejic. Aleksa Buha is expected to retain the post of Foreign Minister.

Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic gave his approval to the new cabinet at the start of the session.

Deputies Criticize Kozic

AU1808152694 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Thursday [18 August] ran into trouble having his nominee for the post of "prime minister," Dusan Kozic, approved by the separatist Serb legislators.

Deputies criticized Kozic, a 36-year-old economist, for failing to propose sweeping changes and take into account in his government platform that Belgrade cut ties with the Bosnian Serbs earlier this month.

Kozic earlier presented his post-war government program and cabinet to the Serb assembly here.

Only five of the 16 portfolios in his proposed cabinet were changed as compared to the outgoing "government."

Deputy Slobodan Bjelic said he would not vote for "people who take orders from Mr. Karadzic," adding that the cabinet needed new faces if domestic problems were to be resolved.

The assembly was to vote on Kozic late Thursday.

Serbs Accept Proposal on Unification

LD1808213394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2055 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—Continuing their session today, deputies of the Srpska republic (RS) assembly endorsed the draft proposal on the unification of the RS and the RSK (the republic of Serb Krajina) with the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, the SRNA Agency reports.

The draft proposal on unification which was submitted to the Serbian and Montenegrin Assemblies by the RS and the RSK parliaments—SRNA reports—states that "the RSK and the RS are state entities which were created when the SFRY was broken up by secessionists and when they exercised their right to self- determination and to the principle of parliamentary sovereignty of people and nations, as well as the right to decide about their own state."

For this reason, the statement reads, the RSK and the RS Assemblies decided to send a proposal for the unification of the RS and the RSK with the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro into a single state.

The Serbian and Montenegrin Assemblies were invited to accept the proposal on unification into a single state and to examine a procedure and conditions under which this unification could be carried out.

A joint delegation of the RS and the RSK was charged with commencing talks with representatives of Serbia and Montenegro as soon as possible in order to draw up a declaration on unification as well as drafts of other relevant documents.

The delegation will have a month to complete this job and to inform the Assembly about the results of the negotiations after that.

The proposal points out that "a nation's right to self-determination, i.e., a nation's right to freely determine its political status, is a historical, natural, and inalienable right."

The statement also says that "this right has been made legitimate by numerous UN, CSCE and conference on former Yugoslavia documents.

Karadzic, Akashi, Rose Meet To Discuss Plan

AU1908132494 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 19 (AFP)—Bosnia's UN civilian and military commanders entered

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talks here Friday with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic expected to focus on the Serbs' continued rejection of the international peace plan.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi and UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in Bosnia General Michael Rose joined Karadzic for the discussions in this Bosnian Serb stronghold near Sarajevo.

Rose welcomed the fact that a Sarajevo anti-sniping accord agreed by both warring parties Sunday had been honoured, adding that since then "there was some shooting, but no sniping."

He also confirmed the killing of a French UN peacekeeper in the Bosnian capital earlier Friday, to which Karadzic expressed his regrets.

Journalists were permitted to attend the start of the meeting, in which Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic also participated.

Sources said the talks were expected to focus on the five-nation contact group's peace plan partitioning Bosnia almost equally between the Serb side and the Croat-Moslem Federation.

Karadzic has come under mounting pressure to accept the plan, with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic earlier this month slapping an embargo on the Bosnian Serbs for their refusal to do so.

Karadzic: Pope's Safety Cannot Be Guaranteed

LD1908124194 Rome RAI Due Television Network in Italian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Excerpt] The pope's safety in Sarajevo cannot be guaranteed. This statement was made yesterday by Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, who issued a warning to the pontiff, who is ready to leave for the tormented Bosnian capital on 8 September. According to Karadzic, the pope's plane could be attacked by the Muslim Serb [as heard] army which would then blame the attack on the Bosnian Serbs. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Invites Foreign Observers for Referendum

LD1808133694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Srpska republic people's assembly, today invited international observers to monitor the referendum on the proposed territorial division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and "verify its regularity on the spot," SRNA reports.

A letter of invitation to monitor the referendum, which will be held on 27 and 28 August, was sent today to the Belgrade embassies of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany, because those countries comprise the Contact Group.

The governments of the countries contributing to the Contact Group were asked in the letter to submit soon "a list of observer team members in each of the towns in which they want to work as observers."

Prlic Holds Talks With Arms Industry

AU1908063794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Jadranko Prlic, deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, received today a delegation from the BMT [expansion unknown] factory of special purpose [armaments] production in [words indistinct] Vitez. The talks concerned the necessity and possibilities of revitalizing the special purpose production in accordance with the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Full agreement was reached on concrete measures to be presented to the Government of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina at one of its forthcoming sessions.

German TV: Islamic Organizations Sending Arms

LD1808192794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Bonn, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—Islamic fundamentalist organizations in Germany have formed a network of firms and associations that use the money raised for humanitarian purposes to buy arms for Bosnia. This was reported Thursday by Channel One of the German ARD Television which added that the firms and associations were suspected of illegal operations.

One of the biggest Islamic fundamentalist movements in Germany, called the "Association for the New World View on Europe," feeds aid to the Turkish extremist Refan Party through secret financial transfers, the ARD said. The ARD said that the movement had collected one million German marks in the Turkish communities in Germany for humanitarian aid for Bosnia.

According to the movement's confidential report, the donations were used to buy arms for Bosnia, in violation of a United Nations embargo, the ARD said.

The United Nations imposed the embargo on arms deliveries on all of former Yugoslavia in September 1991. The embargo is still in force.

The ARD broadcast failed to state if German authorities took action against Islamic organizations because of such aid to the Bosnian Muslims.

Muslim-Croat Ties Reportedly Deteriorating

LD1808181694 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Confidence-building talks between the leaderships of the HDZ [the Croat Democratic Union—main Bosnian Croat party affiliated to Tudjman's ruling party in Croatia] and the SDA [Izetbegovic's ruling Muslim

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Party of Democratic Action] for Bosnia-Herzegovina—scheduled for yesterday—did not take place because the Croat side was refused passage through the territory controlled by the Muslim army. The hope remains that this was not a premeditated move on the part of the Muslim side. Antun Mrkonjic explains:

[Mrkonjic] Although one cannot rule out a misunderstanding regarding the travel applications that have to be obtained from the side that controls the territory in question, this explanation is difficult to believe, given that the above concerned the leadership of the Croat people. It is also somewhat strange that the policemen at the checkpoint did not receive an order to let the Croat delegation through. Just a few hours earlier representatives of the Bosnian Croats in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation had passed through on their way to Sarajevo without any difficulties.

Is yesterday's incident a message from the SDA or else an expression of dissatisfaction about the make-up of the Croat delegation. This can be linked with SDA president Alija Izetbegovic's refusal to lead a Muslim delegation during the first meeting of the two sides after a one-year break in the relations. Some might say this happened because Dario Kordic is the leader of the other side.

Despite all this the HDZ agreed to the talks with the SDA delegation led by the party's president Ejup Ganic, thus showing good will to bury the hatchet and embark on a course toward tolerance and agreement.

A failure to hold the HDZ-SDA talks has come at the wrong time. Problems in connection with the implementation of the Washington agreement at the local level are become increasingly frequent. [passage omitted]

UN Closes Sarajevo Airport Following Attack

AU1808173594 Paris AFP in English 1729 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 18 (AFP)—A mortar shell hit the runway at Sarajevo airport Thursday [18 August], prompting the United Nations to close the facility. UN spokesman Bertrand Labarsouque said no one was hurt in the incident. He said it was not clear who fired the shell.

UNHCR: Serbian Demands in Gorazde 'Unacceptable'

AU1808145194 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces are seriously hindering the evacuation of 36 sick and seriously injured people from the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde to Sarajevo, the UN refugees agency said Thursday [18 August].

The Bosnian Serbs are linking the safe transport of the injured to the release of prisoners, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) officials added.

UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said of the 36 wounded "they are in grave need of medical care." All were in danger, he said, and "some have died already". Some of the sick were suffering from breast or lung cancer, Kessler said, some had kidney diseases while others had had limbs amputated or were suffering from eye injuries.

The spokesman called on the international community to put pressure on the Bosnian Serbs saying "all parties in this conflict have used civilians as bargaining chips at one time or another".

Kessler said the Bosnian Serbs had refused point blank to allow 14 of the patients to be evacuated from Goradze, one of six UN "safe havens" in Bosnia and also one of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's total exclusion zones for heavy weapons in the region.

The UNHCR said the "health minister" of the self-proclaimed Serb republic, Dragan Kalinic, had authorised the evacuation of 21 women and children and one very seriously ill man.

However Kessler added, "late last night we were told that once again for movements out of Goradze there were going to be ties, conditions, and this time it is the issue of the release of POWs."

The UNHCR spokesman said the Bosnian Serbs' demands were "totally unacceptable".

"Those people need treatment and all other questions, release of POWS, opening of blue routes, should be put aside," he added, in a reference to roads into Sarajevo that have been closed by the Serbs.

The evacuation needs to be carried out using helicopters and the UNHCR says it cannot begin operations without Bosnian Serb consent.

Kessler added that if the operation was not carried out this month, the sick and injured might be blocked in Gorazde due to lack of funds for the evacuation.

Meanwhile, a Dutch UN peacekeeping soldier was injured by a mine near Srebrenica, to the east of Sarajevo, in what the UNHCR described Thursday as a "deliberate act of aggression" by the Bosnian Serbs. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR: Continued Fighting at Bihac

AU1908113994 Paris AFP in English 1113 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Report by Jacques Charmelot]

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 19 (AFP)—Air traffic into Sarajevo was suspended until further notice as the United Nations pledged Friday to identify the side which blasted the runway with a mortar, amid signs of a new hardline alliance between Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia.

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Meanwhile, a second UN investigation was launched after a French soldier was shot dead in the Bosnian capital early Friday.

A spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), Major Dacre Holloway, warned it would be difficult to determine the origin of the 122-mm mortar which exploded on the edge of the runway Thursday afternoon, prompting the UN to ban all flights.

The shell, which caused no injuries, was the first to hit the airport since all heavy weapons—including mortars—were banned from a 20-kilometer (12-mile) UN-imposed exclusion zone around Sarajevo six months ago.

Holloway said UNPROFOR experts had thus far established that the shell—which had a 9,000-metre (10,000 yard) range—was fired from an area south of the airport where Bosnian government and Bosnian Serb positions overlap.

The as yet unnamed French soldier killed Friday was a paratrooper on guard at an observation post at a demarcation point between the Bosnian government and Serb sectors, another UNPROFOR spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Bertrand Labarsouque, said. He was shot in the head at 0720 (0520 GMT).

An inquiry was launched to determine whether the soldier was deliberately targeted or was the victim of the almost-permanent crossfire between the two sectors.

The death brings to 22 the number of French soldiers killed in former Yugoslavia since the start of 1992.

In May, French Defence Minister Francois Leotard announced the French military contingent of 6,800 men would drop to 2,500 by the end of the year.

Meanwhile Peter Kessler, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said he hoped the airlift ensuring food supplies for Sarajevo's 380,000 inhabitants could resume Friday afternoon as food reserves in the city were very low.

Failing that, he added that the situation could be relieved through road aid convoys, one of which was due in Sarajevo on Monday.

Separately, fighting resumed overnight Thursday in Bihac, a Moslem enclave in western Bosnia, between forces from the secessionist Croatian Serb region of Krajina and Bosnian Government troops, UNPROFOR said.

Peacekeepers in the zone counted at least 50 instances of artillery fire around Grabez and Otoka, frontline areas between the two forces in the south of the enclave, Commander Jean-Francois Philippe told AFP.

The zone had been calm for around 10 days prior to the attacks.

Phillipe, reached by telephone from Zagreb, added that fighting had also resumed overnight Thursday in Bihac after a seven-day truce between government troops and forces loyal to dissident Moslem leader Fikret Abdic. [passage omitted]

Army Reports Serbian Units Disobeying Orders

AU1808192094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] The Press Center of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army reports that 1st Corps (?intelligence) shows that the situation on the temporarily occupied territory is extremely difficult following the collapse of the aggressor's offensive. For example, over the last two to three days there has been an additional mobilization of tank drivers in Ilidza who have been dispatched to the Nisici plateau. There is evidence of a large number of men categorically refusing to go to this front, particularly after the latest defeat of the Serb forces there, among which was the (?2d) Ilidza Brigade. Ilidza is covered in death notices of Serbian soldiers killed on the Nisici plateau, while the survivors who have returned from this front are enraged because—they say—while some are getting killed, others are sitting in bars. They have provoked several skirmishes among young Serbs in the bars in the center of Ilidza.

Following the defeat on the Nisici plateau, there is still chaos and mutual recrimination within the aggressor's ranks over the huge losses that they have suffered in men, equipment, and territory. There are an increasing number of Serbian fighters and officers, and indeed entire Serb units, refusing to obey orders. General Milovanovic himself has been unable to enforce discipline among the aggressor's defeated units, and has demanded from war criminal Gen. Mladic the urgent dispatch of a complete and compact unit from outside, as the remnants of these units are useless. If we want to keep the Nisici plateau, we urgently need an entire brigade, he said. Mladic is completely aware of the gravity of the situation as described by his second in command, and has been seeking help from the Supreme Command of the Army of the so-called Yugoslavia. However, he has been told by Belgrade that this would not be wise at the moment because of international public opinion, as relations between the two countries have only recently been severed. It would be impossible to conceal the crossing of an entire brigade across the Drina.

However, he has been promised by Belgrade that volunteers will be gathered and dispatched to Bratunac, and then everything will be in the hands of war criminal Mladic, as they are without fuel themselves. Mladic has ordered the commander of the Drina corps to send the Bratunac brigade to the Nisici plateau, together with Serbian volunteers, and has promised to provide him with 50 buses for their transportation. In order to carry out this task, the military and civilian police in eastern and northeastern Bosnia have been confiscating fuel from owners of saloon cars and trucks travelling through this region.

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The fact that the aggressor has serious problems with fuel is illustrated by the written ultimatum from General Mladic to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Command, saying that—as of 18 August 1994—any movement of UNPROFOR through the territory under the control of the Serbian army will be blocked unless UNPROFOR provides the Serbian army with fuel. It is also important to stress that in Ilijas, Sokolac, and the surrounding villages the military and civilian police have been carrying out additional mobilization of the dwindling number of men who have not yet been mobilized. They are being taken to dig trenches on the Nisici plateau.

Civic Alternative: Peace Plan 'Unacceptable'

AU1808193994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpt] The Bosnian Drina basin in the Geneva talks was a topic addressed by Dr. Becir Heljic, the guest at a conference of the Civic Alternative organized by the Sarajevo Committee of the Social Democratic Party.

Senada Cumurovic reports.

[Begin Cumurovic recording] The contact group plan is absolutely unacceptable, in the view of Dr. Becir Heljic, guest of the conference, who based his view on the demographic structure of the Drina basin. According to the census before the war in the 13 communes in the Drina basin, there were 250,000 Muslims there, while—following the aggression and ethnic cleansing—only 100,000 Muslims now remained. Therefore, the Contact Group plan does not reflect the prewar ethnic structure, and therefore legitimizes the results of aggression. Some places, such as Rogatica, Foca, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Zvornik, and partly Visegrad are supposed to remain in the so-called Serbian part according to the plan. Even places like Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde, which are to belong to the Federation, are untenable economically—being within an enemy encirclement—if the plan is implemented.

The only positive element of the plan is the fact that it recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Serbian Official Analyzes Health Situation

LD1808183094 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Dragan Kalinic, minister of health in the government of the Srpska republic, said that the contact group's plan was unacceptable from the health care point of view, as well as from other points of view. The proposed plan deprives the Srpska republic of 16 outpatient clinics, eight hospitals, one rehabilitation center, and a large psychiatric hospital, Kalinic specified at a news conference in Pale today.

Under the proposed plan, we would have to build 30 new medical facilities of different types in the territories allocated to the Serbs, which we are not capable of doing under the current circumstances, he said. The health minister recalled that the contact group's plan gave the largest medical centers—in Tuzla, Zenica, Bihac, Livno, and Sarajevo—to the Croat-Muslim Federation. The two largest medical facilities in Sarajevo—the clinical center and the former military hospital—are in the part of the city that is under Muslim control. The medical facilities in the Serb part of the city have been improvised in former hotels and factories, Kalinic said.

Since approximately 200,000 people live in the Sarajevo area and a further 800,000 gravitate towards it, Kalinic called on the international community to build a hospital in the Serb part of Sarajevo so that patients could have the same treatment as in the Muslim part.

Speaking about the situation following Yugoslavia's blockade of the Srpska republic, Kalinic said that a number of measures had been taken to secure the normal functioning of the health service in the republic, including increasing the reserves of medicines and the revival of our own pharmaceutical production. Kalinic stressed that his contacts with the Serbian Health Ministry showed that there were no obstacles to civilians and the wounded also being treated in Serbia in the future. He recalled that around 1,000 patients and 2,000 convalescents were being treated in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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Security Head Views Negotiations With Knin

AU1808131094 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Aug 94 pp 11, 12

[Interview with head of the Office for National Security Hrvoje Sarinic by Branko Podgornik; place and date not given: "The Serbs Do Not Know What Tomorrow Has in Store for Them"]

[Text] The negotiations between the Croatian State delegation and representatives of the Serbs from occupied areas resumed at a recent meeting in Knin. The negotiations were interrupted already on 29 March, when the Zagreb agreement on separating forces along the front line in Croatia was signed at the Russian Embassy.

Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Office for National Security—who is also the leader of the Croatian state delegation for the negotiations with the Serbs from the UNPA [United Nations Protected Area] zones as well as the president of the State Commission for Relations With UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]—said the following about the meeting.

[Sarinic] The Zagreb agreement suspended hostilities at the front lines. It is not an isolated agreement, but a first link in the chain that will continue with the solution of economic and political questions. The international community thought so, we thought so, and the Serbs were supposed to think so as well. However, a certain deformation seems to have occurred.

The Zagreb agreement, which suspended front-line hostilities, must be fully implemented. We must continue putting pressure on UNPROFOR. The Community of Croatian Refugees is also doing that in a way and their action produced positive effects. The meeting in Knin had salutary effects in that it initiated the process of negotiations about roads, economic, and political questions.

[Podgornik] At the meeting in Knin—where you were accompanied by Ivic Pasalic—expert groups for roads and economic and social questions were formed. Those groups are supposed to prepare the next meeting of the two delegations. Did you discuss political problems this time?

[Sarinic] Of course, that is what our side concentrated on. However, at this stage of negotiations, the other side did not want to discuss political questions. They carefully listened to our speech about the constitution, constitutional law, and autonomy, they took notes, but made no comment.

Let me just add that, this time, we talked about all economic problems with any kind of political connotation. We spent the most time discussing the opening of a highway between Zagreb and Belgrade. My impression is that we will be able to discuss that problem even more openly at our next meeting. The Serb side kept saying that they had to be careful not to look like defeatists in the eyes of their own public.

[Podgornik] What do you think about Borislav Mikelic and Milan Babic, two Serb negotiators?

[Sarinic] Personally, I think they do not believe in their own state too much and that they do not see it as a final solution. Mr. Babic gave us a copy of the 1991 constitution of the so-called krajina and almost had a grin on his face while he was talking about how it was adopted while he was chairman. I could not help it, but they seemed like they were "playing state."

[Podgornik] Should political questions be solved first and then we can proceed with the opening of roads and economic relations, or is the opening of those communications the prerequisite for a political solution?

[Sarinic] At the beginning of this year, we adopted a scheme according to which conditions for negotiations had to be created first and then we could sign an agreement to end the hostilities, in order to be able to discuss economic and then also political problems in a calmer atmosphere.

I do not think it is possible to solve economic and political problems separately. The content of certain points of the negotiations intertwine political and economic aspects. Those problems will be solved simultaneously.

Monitoring Pale

[Podgornik] Are the Serbs prepared to talk about peaceful reintegration of UNPA zones into the Croatian public-law system?

[Sarinic] It is difficult to answer this question at the moment. During an informal conversation with the other side, I asked them about the consequences of the relations between Belgrade and Pale. They monitor those events, and the impression was they are somewhat lost as well, not knowing what tomorrow has in store for them, and their views and politics will be created in accordance with those developments.

We know that the creators of the politics in the so-called Krajina are, in fact, the pawns of Belgrade. The key to the problem is in Belgrade—and this is a constant in Croatian views. The international community must put more pressure on Belgrade, and then Belgrade will put pressure on Knin. That is the solution. Serb representatives in Knin will then act accordingly.

[Podgornik] Will Croatia use force to try and regain its occupied areas?

[Sarinic] Croatia will do everything it possibly can to find a peaceful solution through the negotiating process. Croatia is counting on the international community, which kept confirming the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia on its temporarily occupied areas. Should Croatia run out of all grounds for negotiations, i.e. if it

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does, it will have to take other measures to reestablish sovereignty on the occupied areas.

We are strengthening our military forces in order to prepare for the other option as well. On the other hand, the military option is always possible, it is the ultimate option which must be taken into account. However, for the time being, we are concentrating on a peaceful solution. We are aiming for peaceful reintegration of occupied areas with the help of international factors and of whatever trump cards are at our disposal.

[Podgornik] What status does Croatia offer to the Serbs from UNPA zones? Is the Constitutional Law enough to reintegrate occupied areas?

[Sarinic] We told the Serb negotiators that the Constitution and the Constitutional Law provide the framework for cultural autonomy of all Serbs in Croatia. The districts of Knin and Glina, where the Serbs were an overwhelming majority according to the 1991 census, are offered autonomy in keeping with the highest international standards, under the supervision of the international community.

That is a flexible framework providing plenty of room for drafting detailed documents. Let me repeat that the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and the Constitutional Law provide the framework for their autonomy.

[Podgornik] Can you comment on proposals for Croatia as (con)federation?

[Sarinic] Those who talk about it should first read the constitution, which contains a clear answer to your question. Article 1 of the constitution says that the Republic of Croatia is an integral and indivisible country. Autonomy, yes; (con)federation, no; it is out of the question.

[Podgornik] Is it realistic to expect UNPROFOR to be given a mandate to guard the internationally recognized borders of Croatia this fall?

[Sarinic] UN Security Council resolutions recognize the sovereignty of Croatia on the temporarily occupied areas, but UNPROFOR, which has to implement that, has no mandate nor strength to do it. One could even conclude that this is a game against the interests of the Republic of Croatia.

The goal of Croatian politics in negotiations about the new UNPROFOR mandate is to guard Croatian borders in keeping with Resolution No. 769 and enable the refugees to go back to their homes. In short, the reintegration of the temporarily occupied areas.

Croatia will not accept a new UNPROFOR mandate if it does not entail the control of its internationally recognized borders. We will insist on that and we will not tolerate UNPROFOR's presence without it, for its present mandate leads toward the cyprization of Croatia. Let me point out that Croatia will firmly persist in advocating that view.

Masks Were Lifted

[Podgornik] Do you think that events on the international scene can contribute to changing the mandate of UNPROFOR and help Croatia regain its occupied areas?

[Sarinic] I would like to emphasize that this set of problems cannot be viewed as static, but must be considered as dynamic, and we must also consider the international factor. We can already see some changes if we compare the present situation with that of 15 days ago.

There have been changes in relations between Belgrade and Pale, but it is debatable whether those are real changes or just a farce. I know that high-ranking UNPROFOR representatives recently met with Slobodan Milosevic and the commander of Yugoslav Army in Belgrade, and that the latter were decisively against UNPROFOR controlling the implementation of Belgrade's isolation of Pale. It is certain, however, that the masks were lifted and the international community will no longer be taken for a ride. It will no longer take Belgrade's word in analyzing the relations between Belgrade and Pale, but will make its own conclusions based on events on the ground.

The implementation of Resolution No. 769, on controlling Croatian borders toward Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a problem. Furthermore, there is Resolution No. 838 on controlling borders between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the conflict between Belgrade and Pale turns out to be even partly real, it will have a significant effect on Belgrade's relations with Knin and on Knin's behavior in our negotiations. That could have positive effect on the mandate of UNPROFOR.

Therefore, the problem should be viewed in all its dynamics. There have already been some changes and by 30 September, when the UNPROFOR mandate expires, there will be some more. I believe those changes will benefit the views of the Republic of Croatia.

On one hand, Croatia will not agree to an UNPROFOR mandate that would not give it the power or the means to implement the control of Croatian borders. On the other hand, I think that more pressure of the international community on Belgrade will force Belgrade to make concessions and thus also make the implementation of the said resolutions easier.

[Podgornik] Do you believe that Belgrade will really turn its back on the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia, whom it used in the aggression against the two countries?

[Sarinic] Belgrade has not relinquished the idea about greater Serbia, which was developed in 1844 and which was the underlying thought of Serbia's policy. However, Belgrade is in a very difficult position at present and Milosevic probably realized that he would no longer be

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able to stick to this policy. People in Serbia are not hungry, but in many aspects their life has degraded to that of the Middle Ages. Regimes relying solely on army and police cannot survive for long. The Serbs are less and less tolerant toward the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for that burden is getting heavier by the day.

Four years ago, Knin was a Trojan horse of Milosevic's politics in Croatia. Many things have changed since then. During several meetings between President Tudjman and Milosevic which I attended, Milosevic kept repeating that Knin never belonged to Serbia, that it cannot belong to Serbia, and that it clearly belongs to Croatia. Of course, that was the cunning of Milosevic's politics. But masks were lifted and I think Belgrade will be forced to distance itself from both Pale and Knin, though they will try to derive as much benefit as possible from that.

Small "Greater Serbia"

[Podgornik] Can we have an integral Croatia without previously securing the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Sarinic] Croatian policy maintains that the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the interest of Croatia. Still, the hackneyed phrase says that politics is the art of the possible. Croatian politics and President Tudjman took both the circumstances and possibilities into account, as well as Croatia's interest in the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Formally speaking, Bosnia-Herzegovina is a country of three constituent nations, whereas Croatia is a country of just one constituent nation. Given such formal, public-law analysis, there is no reason not to have an integral Croatia without an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Let me repeat something for which I have already been attacked by the Croatian opposition. We will have to make some compromises for the sake of peace. Personally, I think that, in order to accept peace and some solutions, Serbia must gain something out of all that happened—I am talking about a small "greater Serbia."

In my opinion, the Bosnian Serbs, who are offered 49 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, will not stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Even the Russians offered the Serbs to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina and join Serbia in order to satisfy minimal appetites for greater Serbia, to make compromise for the sake of peace in this region—which would, of course, have to be guaranteed by solid agreements, through control and presence of international community in this region for some time.

Integral Bosnia-Herzegovina is a strategic interest of Croatia, but I think that Bosnia-Herzegovina will not remain in its borders and that the Serbs will secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is what I think, but the future will show whose predictions were more realistic.

[Podgornik] What do you expect from the meeting between President Tudjman and Milosevic, which was announced in Athens?

[Sarinic] As far as I know, they will not meet. I think that was a propaganda move of Greek diplomacy. I am certain that President Milosevic wants that meeting today. However, I also know that President Tudjman made himself clear about such a meeting. He said it could take place only if it would discuss mutual recognition—of Croatia in its internationally recognized borders and of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro.

The meeting is a mirage of a kind. President Tudjman wanted the meeting and the negotiating process, but not under just any terms. If such meeting were to take place today, it would not result in mutual recognition—it would merely buy more time for Serbia and Milosevic.

The international community is very keen on and welcomes contacts that can be arranged. However, we will no longer accept meetings which will not produce concrete results. For such meetings would benefit one side only, and we can no longer accept that.

Martic: Serbian Unification 'Not Realistic'

LD1908102494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Text] Podgorica, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] in Croatia] supports the unification of all Serb lands, but that initiative is not realistic at the moment, RSK President Milan Martic said today.

In response to a question about the realistic possibilities of uniting the Serb lands, Martic said on Montenegrin radio's Meridians program that "things should be put under control now" and "the leaderships of Serbia, Montenegro, the Serb republic, and the RSK should meet again to establish what our Serb national interest is."

"It is clear that the people in this region want to live together and the unification will take place before long," the RSK president said adding that the Serbs are entitled to do that on the basis of nations' right to self-determination.

"That right was granted in the former Yugoslavia to the Slovenes, Croats, Macedonians, and Muslims, so there is absolutely no reason why we, the Serbs or Montenegrins, should not be granted the same right and say that we, too, want to live in one state," Martic stressed.

He described the current situation as unfavorable for the Serb and Montenegrin nations, but expressed the hope that it will be overcome.

"We Serbs must know that if we are not absolutely certain of what we want, all activities could go in the wrong direction," Martic warned.

Martic Worried by Linking of Sanctions With RSK

LD1808161294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Knin, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—A statement by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel directly linking

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the sanctions against Yugoslavia with the solution of the Krajina-Croatia conflict, could threaten the peace process, Milan Martic, the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] warned today.

We are very worried by such statements, which put the peace process between the RSK and Croatia into a completely different context, which would be unacceptable for us, Martic told TANJUG.

Martic recalled the fact that the war between Croatia and the RSK was stopped after efforts made by Russian diplomacy and that one of its diplomatic initiatives resulted in both sides signing the Zagreb agreement.

This enabled the negotiating process to begin and it has already had significant results. The process is now at a very delicate stage when economic issues should be discussed.

I am worried that tactless acts by important international factors could seriously threaten the negotiations and bring the peace process to an abrupt end, Martic said.

Martic also said that he was concerned by a report according to which American representatives to the United Nations were exerting pressure on the Russian side to agree to a UN Security Council resolution, which would link the issue of sanctions against Yugoslavia with the resolution of Krajina's political status within Croatia.

UNPROFOR: Police Obstructing Checkpoints

LD1808161794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Okucani, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—Relations between the Croatian authorities and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] have been deteriorating in UN sector west [western Slavonia, east of Zagreb], because the Croatian police who replaced protesters [Croatian refugees] at the checkpoints have been obstructing UN vehicles, particularly in the Pakrac area—UNPROFOR has warned.

UNPROFOR's information and press service in sector west has said that UNPROFOR sent a protest to the Croatian Government because the Croatian police moved its checkpoint 200 meters inside the buffer zone near Lipik. UNPROFOR regards this as a very serious violation of its previously signed agreement with the Croatian authorities.

All UNPROFOR members have been ordered to avoid using the checkpoint near Lipik.

Government Complains to UN Over Dubrovnik Attack

LD1908100594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Text] The Croatian mission at the United Nations in New York sent yet another letter to Security Council President Yuliy Vorontsov, lodging a complaint against the Bosnian Serbs' attack on Dubrovnik's Cilipe Airport. The current situation is jeopardizing the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and can have unforeseeable consequences on the peace process and on stability in the entire region, the letter says.

The Croatian Government believes that it would be useful if the Security Council were to issue a sharp warning to the Bosnian Serbs that it will not tolerate such actions. This is said among other things in the letter to Security Council President Yuliy Vorontsov.

Tudjman Illness Seen as FRY Propaganda

AU1808123994 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 94 p 2

[Davor Gjenaro commentary: "There Is No One To Replace the President"]

[Text] After Radio Knin toward the end of last week broadcast the news that Croatian President Tudjman had had a severe heart attack while observing a tactical exercise on the island of Vir, and VECERNJE NOVOSTI repeated it at the beginning of this week, many thought the information was not all that implausible, so it was published by the Slovene press agency. On Tuesday [9 August] afternoon, President Tudjman's office issued an official denial of the news, and the fact that, on Monday, President Tudjman received a delegation of political representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats also denied the rumors.

And while the Croatian president and his family are resting on Brioni, once Tito's favorite resort, the news that proved false raised some issues after all. It is evidently a product of KOS's [Yugoslav counterintelligence service] propaganda machinery. The statement that Tudjman had a heart attack at the exercise "Bandira 1994," at which the elite 4th National Guard Brigade was training for an offensive action, on the territory whose configuration reminds one of Knin krajina, intended to "boost the morale" of the population on occupied Croatian areas. The conflict between Karadzic and Milosevic, which led to sealing the border between Serbia and occupied territories in Bosnia, also made things worse for the occupied territories of Croatia. At this moment, the news of the most serious enemy of "Krajina" being seriously ill, even critical, is supposed to divert their attention from the reality of the occupied territory.

In the past couple of months, there has been much talk about the possibility of an accommodation between Tudjman and Milosevic, which was supposed to be brokered by the Greek, loyal "friends of the Serbs," but Tudjman refused to meet with Milosevic until he recognized Croatia in its internationally recognized borders, i.e. until he declaratively renounced Martic's regime. All Milosevic's meetings with Tudjman, which the latter naively agreed to, brought great political "profit" to

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Milosevic, both with regard to the domestic public, to which he proved that he could humiliate Tudjman, but also in the eyes of the international public, for if the victim makes concessions to its aggressor and is willing to "negotiate" with it, the world does not have the tremendous responsibility of taming the aggressor and can allow it to use the "fruits" of the aggression.

Those who spread the news seem to be well-versed in the Croatian political system and situation on the political scene. In case the president of the Republic is for any reason unable to perform his function, the Croatian Constitution envisages that he be replaced by the president of the parliament. Croatia, however, does not know who the president of the parliament actually is. Croatian Democratic Community members maintain that is Nedjeljko Mihanovic, whom they appointed at the session convened against the procedure and which was not attended by opposition deputies. The opposition consider Stjepan Mesic the president of the parliament, who, as he says himself, was "legally elected but not legally relieved." It is interesting that, ever since the parliamentary crisis and the situation of "anarchy" in the parliament, all foreign delegations coming to visit the parliament are received by Zarko Domljan, vice-president of the parliament and president of the Commission for International Relations, while no one wants to meet with Mihanovic. In keeping with the Croatian Constitution, the president of the Republic has large authority, so any reason "preventing" Tudjman from performing his function would, at the moment, have very unpleasant influence on the political life of Croatia. It seems that those who spread the news knew about the problem, and after this news, it might be a subject of serious speculation in diplomatic circles as well.

Financing of Political Parties Examined

94BA0383A Zagreb BANKA in Serbo-Croatian Jul 94 p 68

[Unattributed article: "Both Publicly and Discreetly"]

[Text] Croatia does not have a separate law on financing political parties, but the Law on Political Parties from August 1993 has a special chapter on funds for their work. It says there that political parties are nonprofit associations that can, in order to achieve their goals, acquire revenues from membership fees, voluntary contributions, publishing activity, the sale of propaganda material, the organization of party events, the state budget, the budgets of local self-government units, the profits of enterprises that they own, and other source permitted by regulations (Article 18).

That formulation also shows that Croatia allows the financing of parties from three sources that are usual in the world: members' money, donations, and budget funds. The Law's provisions, however, also permit parties, in a fairly liberal manner, to organize economic activity, citing explicitly the usual sources of financing by that method: propaganda, publishing, and events. It is interesting that Croatian law also allows financing from the budgets of local self-government units, which not all countries allow.

The Law on Political Parties specifically guarantees annual cofinancing of parties from the state budget, but does not specify the upper limit for the state money's share in total party revenues. Funds from the budget are received only by parties whose candidates in elections have been elected as Assembly deputies. That means that parties that have become parliamentary ones in another way do not receive money. Every party that meets these criteria receives an amount of 24 average gross bases for calculating the wages of employees and officials employed by the Republic of Croatia's state bodies. In addition to those funds, which are distributed to the parties equally, they are also provided with funds proportionate to the number of deputies in the Assembly, in such a way that the total amount of the funds provided for financing the parties according to the first criterion is tripled, and then distributed in proportion to the number of deputy seats. That criterion allows the big parties to get the most money from the state budget.

According to Article 20, parties are obligated to show publicly the origin and purpose of the funds that they have received during the year, and if any irregularity is then determined, it may happen that the next year the party will not receive any funds at all from the state budget. In that case, the money that should belong to the party will be distributed for humanitarian purposes. The parties are therefore obligated to send the Assembly an annual account, and before they deliver it, it has to be reviewed by the State Audit Office.

A separate law regulates the state's obligation to compensate parties and candidates in elections for part of their costs of an election campaign. In the elections for the Assembly's House of Representatives and the republic president that were held on 2 August 1992, those obligations were determined by the 1 July 1992 Decree on Determining the Amount of Compensation for the Costs of Campaign Promotion. Parties that win at least 3 percent of the votes in the elections and thus gain the right to representation in parliament are given a million Croatian dinars from the state budget, i.e., according to the (rapidly changing) exchange rate at that time, about 5,000 German marks [DM]. If the candidates in the electoral districts in which voting was done on a majority basis won at least 6 percent of the votes, they would receive 150,000 Croatian dinars (about DM800) in compensation for the campaign, while Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Drazen Budisa, as the only candidates for republic president who received more than 10 percent of the votes, received 450,000 Croatian dinars (about DM2,400) for campaign expenses.

Naturally, the campaign expenses were much higher than the money that was issued from the state budget, but no one has ever succeeded in obtaining precise information about their amount. Nevertheless, it can be calculated

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that the state budget paid about DM203,000 to the candidates who received more than 6 percent of the votes in their electoral districts (there were 254 of them, of whom 10 were independent), DM4,800 to the two presidential candidates who received more than 10 percent of the votes, and about DM35,000 for the seven state lists that received more than 3 percent of the votes. That is somewhat less than DM250,000 just to compensate for the expenses of candidates for one chamber of the Assembly and the republic president. The indirect expenses that were billed to the state, however, should also include state television's obligation to show broadcasts of the presidential and deputy candidates, an obligation regulated by the Law on the Election of Deputies to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, and the Law on Election of the President of the Republic of Croatia. The financing of political parties in Croatia is also regulated by the parties' statutes, usually in a separate chapter on financing and the party's economic activity. Along with reiterating the contents of the legal provisions on financing, some of the statutes also emphasize special forms of financing. Most of the parties in Croatia, in the first days of the multiparty system, provided for the possibility that they or others would engage in economic activity.

The Croatian law on parties does not provide for any limitations on the amount and origin of donations to parties. Since these are usually the most important source of party finances, and furthermore the source that is hardest to control, we are justified in assuming that it is precisely that absence of regulation of donations that may be a "loophole in the law" through which considerable "discreet" contributions flow into the Croatian political parties' treasuries.

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Statement by Germany's Kinkel Affirms Support

AU1508130694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 15 Aug 94

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Kinkel"]

[Text] Following the meeting and talks with the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov the German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel stated: "President Gligorov and I concluded the Macedonian-German relations are developing exceptionally well, and we have excellent cooperation in all fields which we believe will continue to be developed in the future. In our opinion, the Republic of Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] is extremely important for the Union and what is essential at the moment is to help it overcome its economic difficulties. Germany, as the current presiding country, will do anything in its power to support Macedonia as it has deserved to be helped by its previous politics and behavior. We are making mediating efforts to help resolve the dispute with Greece, especially the name issue and fully support Cyrus Vance's mediating activities. A process of evaluating the legitimacy of the Greek embargo is under way at the European Court. Although the Court has rejected the European Commission's accusations, it still does not mean the embargo is legal and politically justified. We believe in the urgent need to resolve this dispute and to have the blockade lifted. Europe needs a quick solution, as it has no interest to see a destabilised Macedonia, because it could result in destabilising the entire region. Macedonia is successfully proving it can function as a multiethnic and democratic state, even in these extremely hard conditions and this is why we believe it deserves our full support. Germany is interested in granting Macedonia a full CSCE membership as soon as possible and will do all it can to see that it happens in the near future and in the interest of all.

We also spoke with President Gligorov about the implementation of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Macedonia has a clear obligation to implement them, even if it is decided they should be reinforced. Yet, we are aware it will worsen the already difficult situation in Macedonia, and Germany will do everything in its power to ensure Macedonia's loses are compensated in various ways, through the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program and the Group 24, as well as through other multilateral and unilateral forms of aid and cooperation.

Gligorov Views Effects of Greek Embargo

AU1908103494 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 19 Aug 94 p 8

[Interview with FYROM President Kiro Gligorov by Dieter Buhl and Michael Thumann at the editorial department of DIE ZEIT; date not given: "Hard Pressed State"]

[Text] [DIE ZEIT] Mr. President, to what degree is your country impaired by the war in your neighborhood?

[Gligorov] First of all, our connections with Europe were cut. Before the war, 60 percent of our economy was oriented to the north. We lost this market and any opportunity for cooperation. As a consequence, our unemployment rate rose to 17 percent.

[DIE ZEIT] Does one have to fear that your country will be involved in the war?

[Gligorov] Yes, the war can spread to the south if the conflict over Kosovo breaks out or if the Serbian policy is changed. There are strong forces in Belgrade that do not want to accept that Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is an independent country. One must not forget: Although we do not have any territorial disputes with Serbia, Belgrade has not recognized us.

[DIE ZEIT] What are the effects of the Greek trade embargo?

[Gligorov] The important traffic routes to the south are hermetically sealed. The Albanian port of Durres and the Bulgarian Black Sea coast are hard to reach because roads and railroads run in a north-south direction. The Greek embargo causes us economic damage of 96 million German marks [DM] per month, that is, DM580 million so far. In addition, according to UN estimates, we have suffered losses of almost DM4 billion because of the sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia. Although we have been promised help, we have not received any compensation so far.

[DIE ZEIT] Greece is a member of the European Union. Has the European Union done enough to curb the Greeks?

[Gligorov] All the other 11 EU countries have shown understanding and sympathy for Macedonia and condemned the embargo. They even took legal action against Greece at the European Court of Justice. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the European Union has done everything in its power. Perhaps because Athens is a member, or also because there is a greater economic interest in Greece.

[DIE ZEIT] Athens demands that your country change its name, some parts of the constitution, and the state flag. Is a compromise conceivable?

[Gligorov] We already made several concessions, but they were only followed by always new Greek demands. If our identity and our name are not in danger, then we will be able to discuss all other problems and try to find a fair solution that is acceptable to both sides. As a basis for an agreement, we proposed the example of the German-Polish treaty, which eased a sitution that was considerably more complicated than ours. We do not have any territorial disputes, but joint economic interests. They must pass through Macedonia if they want to go to Europe and we must pass through Greece in order to gain access to the sea.

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[DIE ZEIT] Will the identity of your country be endangered if the flag is changed?

[Gligorov] No, the Macedonian identity would not be endangered by a change of the flag, and we also will not put this question up for discussion.

[DIE ZEIT] U.S. troops are stationed on the Serbian-Macedonian border. They told journalists that every day, tanker convoys, dozens of heavy trucks, and railroad wagons cross the border in the direction of Serbia. This indicates a violation of the sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia.

[Gligorov] There are no tanker convoys from Macedonia to Serbia. We do not produce crude oil ourselves and we cannot even meet our own demand sufficiently because the border to the south is closed. Therefore, accusations that we are smuggling crude oil to Serbia are completely unfounded. Moreover, there is a CSCE report that rejects the aforementioned report on oil transports to Serbia. However, Macedonia produces oleaginous fruits and now, in the season for these fruits, several trucks passed through Serbia to take them to Europe. Going around Serbia, the freight would have taken two weeks and would have spoiled. A moral problem arose for us. We are requested to adhere to the sanctions, and we adhere to them as far as we can. So far, however, we have not been offered any compensation or help.

Popovski Praises Achievements of Army

AU1808105694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 18 Aug 94

[Unattributed report: "Macedonian Army Up To Its Task"]

[Text] On the occasion of the Day of the Macedonian Army, i.e. the second anniversary of forming the first Macedonian Army units and the 50th anniversary of the First ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Assembly of People's Liberation of Macedonia] Assembly, Macedonian Defense Minister Vlado Popovski gave a statement for the press. He said the past two years have been very successful for the army. It was fully developed in its peace-time and military structures. It has successfully fulfilled its obligations and presents a significant factor of the stability of the state ad the wider region. Its primary task, he added, is to guard the borders which are nowadays quiet and safe. The army's degree of combat readiness is at a high level, reserve units have been also included in the training system and troops are better equipped. Minister Popovski underlined peace keeping forces in Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] have also played a positive role in all this. In fu ure, it will be of primary importance to open a military academy and complete the army's technical means.

PDP: 400,000 Albanians Not Included in Census

AU1808143194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 94

[Text] A meeting by the Tetova-based Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] Presidency confirmed that, according to the party information available, 400,000 Albanians were not included in the last census in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In Tetova, 20 percent of Albanians did not participate in the census, in Skopje 25 percent, in Gostivar 20 percent, in Kumanove 15 percent, Kercove 30 percent, Diber 80 percent, Struge 15 percent, Oher 20 percent, Krusheve 25 percent, Prelop 25 percent, and Veles 30 percent.

Among Macedonians abroad, the diaspora, the census was carried out without any organization or preliminary preparation, the PDP Presidency stated at the meeting.

The party assesses that the census in Macedonia, even this time, was carried out without considering the demands of Albanians and, as such, it cannot present a serious project. On the contrary, it is discriminating and anti-Albanian from top to bottom.

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Prime Minister Drnovsek Comments on CEI Meeting

94BA0367B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Jul 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Significant Absence of Some Participants"]

[Excerpt] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, after talks with his Croatian counterpart Valentic and Polish Prime Minister Pawlak, answered reporters' questions. Regarding the talks with the Croats that were a continuation of the recent meeting at Brdo, he said, "We are closer than ever before, but we are not yet completely in agreement." It was jointly agreed that the public would not be informed about the specific outcomes, but in one way or another both sides will have to verify the points of an agreement at home. In response to a question about whether a joint strategy regarding Italy was discussed, Drnovsek said that the issue was touched upon. Both sides are standing by the position that the Osimo accords and the Rome agreement are legally binding and that a linkage between property issues and admission to the European Union is unacceptable. He added that Croatia is aware that Slovenia is only preceding it and that the same thing can happen to Croatia in the second phase.

Regarding the talks with Pawlak, he said that the negotiations on concluding a free trade agreement were proceeding well and that it would go into effect on 1 January 1995. He invited him to Slovenia, and he accepted the invitation.

Irish Prime Minister Supports EU Associate Talks

AU1708162194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 17 Aug 94

[Text] Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek today received a response to his letter to Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, in which the Irish prime minister emphasized that his country ascribes great importance to developing closer contacts between the European Union [EU] and Slovenia. He expressed the belief that the European Council will soon pass the mandate for negotiations on Slovenia's associate membership in the EU, because he believes the agreement on associate membership is of key importance for developing relations between the 12 and Slovenia.

Prime Minister Reynolds concluded by stressing that Slovenia has accomplished great successes in strengthening democracy and making the transition to a market economy. He also expressed the desire that Slovenia remain successful in the political and economic spheres in the future.

Technological Cooperation With Russia

94BA0379C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Jul 94 p 20

[STA article: "Slovenia Has Access to Russian Data Base"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Jul—From 11 to 18 July, talks took place in Ljubljana between delegations from the Ministries of Science and Technology on coordinating approaches to the development of scientific and technical cooperation between Slovenia and Russia, as they stated at a news conference at the end of the talks.

Andrey Georgiy Fonotov, Russian deputy minister of science and technology and head of the five-member delegation, said at the conference that they had been thoroughly briefed on Slovenia's scientific and technological capabilities.

The Russian and Slovene delegations exchanged approximately 100 designs and patents, Fonotov said. They expressed great appreciation of cooperation in the area of satellite communications, and said that Slovenia was the first and only country in the world that had access to the data base operating as part of the satellite communications system.

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Federal

Kontic Explains Breach With Bosnian Serbs

AU1908084894 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 94 pp 2, 3

[Interview with FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by Rade Brajovic and Rade Milosavljevic in Belgrade on 13 August: "It Was a Forced Decision"]

[Text] The announcement of Federal Government about the termination of political and economic relations with the leadership of the Srpska republic is still at the center of public attention. This announcement, being quite short indeed, has been commented on and assessed by almost all heads of states and governments, international organizations and distinguished bodies, diplomats, analysts, and probably all the world media.... It is only the people who issued the announcement—the members of the FRY Government—who have been silent about it.

Except for Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic, who gave an exclusive, more comprehensive statement to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, who commented on the announcement to some foreign media, nobody else has made any statement.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI has managed to obtain an exclusive interview with Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on the matter. Yesterday, he received Rade Brajovic, editor in chief, and Rade Milosavljevic, the domestic policy editor of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, at the Palace of the Federation.

A Just Solution

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Why did the government suddenly decide to cut economic and political relations with the Srpska republic?

[Kontic] Our positive attitude toward the contact group plan on one handand the cessation of political and economic relations with the Srpska republic on the other hand, are not the result of any precipitate or insufficient consideration on the part of the Federal Government. On the contrary, such a determination is a logical continuation of the peacemaking policy that the federal government has pursued since the beginning of its mandate.

Implementing that policy consistently, the federal government has, so far, supported all the peace options that could objectively have brought about a just peace. I remind you that the government also supported the Vance-Owen Plan, which was an acceptable starting point for the final termination of clashes in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the strengthening of the peace process. Unfortunately, the assembly of the Srpska republic did not endorse that plan, and the pressure that we exerted on it at the time was reduced solely to verbal persuasion.

Despite the positive attitude toward the Contact Group plan, we do not think it is ideal, but we also cannot say it is humiliating. On the contrary, regardless of all its shortcomings and understatements, the federal government holds the opinion that it ushers in an acceptable peace process and makes possible a just settlement of the conflict.

Faced with a dilemma that meant either additional victims, additional suffering, and material destruction—and consequently a new exodus of the Serbian people—or, on the other hand, the cessation of clashes, the resolution of acute issues by political means and negotiations (offering more viable ways of resolving them), and eventually the lifting of the sanctions against the FRY, we made a logical decision to support the second option. In fact, given a choice between war and peace, we have decided to support peace, it being the highest state interest at the moment.

Since the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs has turned a deaf ear to that option, we have consequently terminated political and economic relations.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Did it really have to be that way? Was there any other, gentler way of responding?

[Kontic] Although the emotional factor cannot be eliminated when discussing the issue, it would not be good if it was taken into consideration to a degree that would obstruct rational consideration and the implementation of pragmatic measures designed to help the accomplishment of our strategic goals.

The decision of the federal government that was announced on 4 August was forced, as much in its content as in the speed of its adoption and implementation. We were coerced into adopting it by the attitude of the Bosnian Serbs toward the contact group plan, as well as by our desire to prevent a possible negative course of events and an escalation of war. Our decision was the only rational solution at the time.

That is, a different attitude toward the issue would mean the adoption of new, very unfavorable resolutions by the UN Security Council that were already being expeditiously prepared and that actually suggested the confiscation of all Yugoslav property abroad on one hand and a total hermetic isolation of the FRY on the other.

In addition, these resolutions would quite certainly expand the UN protection areas in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, thereby making it possible for NATO to carry out the broadest spectrum of military actions aimed at protecting them, which would mean NATO siding with the Muslims. The intervention of NATO air forces against the Serbian positions in former Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Bosnian Serbs removed weapons under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control was convincing proof that such a course of events would follow.

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Also, there was a great danger of a lifting of the arms embargo; if not as a result of a corresponding resolution of the UN Security Council, then certainly as a result of unilateral decisions taken by certain members of the international community. A consequence of that would be the withdrawal of the UN peacekeeping forces and an escalation of the war, which would not only affect the stability of the region, but would also have wide-ranging effects.

The government's decision on 4 August has deferred such a course of events, it has given peace one more chance and made it possible for the UN Security Council to consider lifting the sanctions against the FRY. Yet, we have to be aware of the fact that this is only a postponement, rather than the final elimination of those dangerous prospects. Nevertheless, I hope that reason will prevail and that we shall use the chance we are being given.

False Dilemma

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Before the latest, undoubtedly difficult decision, did you warn the leadership of the Srpska republic on behalf of your government that this step might possibly be taken?

[Kontic] Your question implies that a different course of events could have come about if there had been better understanding or mutual trust.

In view of that dilemma, it has to be stressed that communication with the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs was constant and, for the greatest part, it was maintained by President Milosevic and President Bulatovic. I believe that every single relevant element of the contact group plan was analyzed thoroughly and in detail. Obviously, the situation has to do with the Bosnian Serbs' overall attitude toward the plan, rather than with some ephemeral occurrences or errors.

I have to point out that the federal and republican leaderships were unanimous regarding the contact group plan and the leadership of the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If you take all this into consideration, it is clear that the dilemma that your question implies is definitely false.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] You are the prime minister of the government of the FRY, but you did not take part in negotiations on the settlement of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. If you had, would you have taken a different course?

[Kontic] Your remark is correct. The federal government is not taking an active part in the negotiations on the settlement of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, that has nothing to do with any kind of opportunism. It is rather a direct consequence of the international recognition of the FRY.

That is, the FRY has not been recognized internationally, so the protagonists in the process of settling the Bosnian crisis regularly invite the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro to be their partners in negotiations, rather than the federal representatives.

Personally, I think that who takes part in those negotiations is not decisive, because they are dealing with with the implementation of the FRY's unified foreign policy, although I do not underestimate the tactics and strategy involved in the way those negotiations are carried out.

Old Policy

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Why are the media, who, until yesterday, were attacking the leadership of the Srpska republic and accusing its members of being the instigators of the war, are now supporting them wholeheartedly? Does the Pale leadership have a hand in that sudden romance?

[Kontic] This has become well-known behavior in the region. It is closely connected with certain structures and parties whose political options have been discredited among the electorate. So, for that reason, they have decided to take power forcefully, rather than to struggle for it by politically.

Therefore they are ready to align with any forces, regardless of their orientation, be it the extreme right- or the extreme left-wing. They are not interested in the fate of the Serbian people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they want to use the tragedy of the Serbian people for their own extreme political goals.

In such circumstances, it is no wonder that the media, which are controlled by such forces, are being successfully manipulated by some members of the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] The FRY has taken in almost half a million refugees. The citizens of Yugoslavia are all witnesses to the profiteering and speculations that some of those people are engaged in, which oppose the entire purpose of humanitarian aid. There are also profiteers and smugglers from the Serbian Republic on Yugoslav territory. What has the government of the FRY done to suppress such occurrences?

[Kontic] The questions of the refugees' status and their treatment, the treatment of the wounded coming from the Srpska republic, as well as the humanitarian aid for the suffering Serbian people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina are not matters that the 4 August decision refers to. We shall not take any restrictive measures regarding the aforementioned questions.

As for profiteering and speculations by certain people, I would say that such occurrences accompany any war, being a direct consequence of the difficult conditions in supplying the economy and citizens, as well as difficulties in communication and transport. The sanctions against the FRY have given a particular boost to those occurrences, so that kind of "trade" has been developed

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to perfection, threatening to endanger good business practice, as well as classic business and moral values.

Of course, the most efficient way to fight this kind of crime is certainly the establishment of peace and the lifting of the sanctions. Still, at this stage, we have to give preference to repressive measures. Therefore, in cooperation with the republican authorities, we are undertaking a whole range of measures, starting with the intensification of measures aimed at uncovering and persecuting criminals, up to the reinforcement of the criminal policy. It has shown that the indictment of such offenses is neither complete nor sufficient to enable us to fight such occurrences efficiently, so we are only now beginning to deal with the issue.

Corrections Through Negotiations

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] You said that the contact group plan is not ideal. What are your objections?

[Kontic] In view of its contents and the statements of some representatives of the Contact Group, as well as by protagonists in the process of resolving the Bosnian crisis, it can be deduced with a high degree of certainty:

1. That the territorial partition of former Bosnia-Herzegovina in a ratio of 49 to 51 is guaranteed by the maps proposed, as well as that subsequent corrections of the maps are possible (which is the point that the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina are insisting on), however only through bilateral talks.

2. That the international community guarantees the borders established by the maps, or those subsequently revised through bilateral negotiations.

3. That the two aforementioned clauses imply that the Srpska republic is recognized as a state entity.

4. That while it is true that its statehood is accomplished within the union, it is quite certain that the Serbian entity in former Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot have fewer rights than the Muslim-Croatian Federation, which means that the possibility of the Srpska republic joining the FRY on confederal terms is also guaranteed. After all, this is what certain members of the Contact Group are advocating publicly right now.

5. That the implementation of the plan not only presupposes the elimination of the danger of additional, even more severe UN Security Council resolutions, but also the lifting or at least easing of the existing sanctions against the FRY. This would be of invaluable significance for our reintegration into the international community, without which there would be no structural development or structural changes, or any improvement in the standard of living of our citizens. Otherwise, Avramovic's [National bank president] program of economic stabilization would be endangered, which could drag us into the vortex of hyperinflation again.

6. That the beginning of the peace process means the safe return of refugees to their homes, as well as the participation of the international community in the reconstruction of the country devastated by war.

Thereby the global goals of the several-year-long struggle of the Serbian people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina would be accomplished, so, for that reason, it was logical for us to endorse the option that will make it possible.

It is true that a number of questions remain unresolved and unclear and that some solutions are not quite in accord with the Bosnian Serbs' expectations. However, the maximization of demands must not be allowed to endanger the already accomplished overall goals. The struggle for the accomplishment of the remaining goals should be waged on the diplomatic and political fronts. Nobody is saying that it will be simple. On the contrary, compromises, sometimes quite painful ones, will be necessary, but one has to keep our strategic goals in mind at all times.

[Box, p 3]

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] The announcement is one of the shortest that your cabinet has ever made, but also one of the most meaningful. Why did you decide to communicate it in such a way?

[Kontic] It is true that the announcement made at the meeting of the federal government on 4 August had a special character. That is, the decision on the termination of political and economic relations with the Srpska republic was stated verbatim, without any additional comment, although there were attempts to communicate it in a classic way.

However, those attempts have shown that the relevant decision made by the government is very clear and unambiguous in itself and that any additional explanation or interpretation results in the devaluation of its importance, as well as in different interpretations of its message. Hence the determination that it should be communicated in the original text.

Still, the announcement has a considerable deficiency, which I would like to make up for. The republican Prime Ministers Marjanovic [of Serbia] and Djukanovic [of Montenegro] also took part in the meeting of the government, by which we wanted to show that the aforementioned decision, although being within the direct constitutional jurisdiction of the federal government, was made subsequent to consultations with the republican leaderships.

Jovanovic: Severing Bosnian Serb Ties 'Not Easy'

AU1808181894 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpt] The Drina has always been the river forming the border between Serbia and Bosnia. However, here Serbs live on both banks of the river—brothers, as they

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call themselves, who, if the parliament of the Bosnian Serbs has its way, are soon to live together in one state.

At the border checkpoints, as here in Zvornik, the situation currently looks rather like a strict separation. The blockade imposed by Serbian President Milosevic seems to be effective. Trucks on their way to Pale are being checked. Since they are obviously not carrying anything, they are permitted to pass. These are measures that are not meeting with approval by far, particularly not among the people wo live at the border.

[Begin FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jvanovic recording, in English with superimposed German translation] We have decided to sever relations because we are convinced that the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs is on the wrong path. On the other hand, the decision was not easy for us. After all, we are one people and our path also harbors a few risks. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Official Claims Border Measures Being Observed

AU1808200394 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Interview with FRY Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic by Dusko Petrovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Petrovic] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, the peaceful measures of the Federal Government have been met with strong support in the world and at home. However, there are some malicious people who claim that these measures are allegedly not being observed on the border with the Srpska republic.

[Sainovic] The federal government is deeply committed to peace in the Balkans. This option has no alternative. The decisions that we have made are completely in line with this. They are part of our historic commitment at this moment and all speculations as to whether or not they are being implemented are totally unfounded. The measures are being fully implemented in the interest of the peace process.

[Petrovic] The acceptance of the peace plan would certainly mean the easing and lifting of the sanctions. This would represent a further contribution and inducement to the otherwise successful implementation of the program of economic recovery and monetary reconstruction.

[Sainovic] What our citizens know and what they can see every day as a result of the economic program is the best confirmation of what the easing of sanctions would mean for our country. I am also convinced that this would be of at least the same importance for the Serbian people in the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. Not only would the return of peace generate an important impulse needed to strengthen the economy, a normal and peaceful life, and economic recovery, but the lifting of the sanctions would free enormous resources that are being suppressed by the sanctions. The effect would be very rapid and visible.

[Petrovic] On 24 July this year, the financing of the federal budget by the National Bank, that is, the raising of money through loans, virtually halted. The decision was made. Almost one month has now passed. Has the decision remained only on paper or has it been implemented in practice.

[Sainovic] The decision is final. It is being fully implemented. In the financing of the federal budget, the federal state, and the federal administration, care is being taken on a daily basis that the costs are brought into line with revenue. The difficulties that appear with regard to this will be solved with greater efficiency, savings, and smaller expenses. There is no document seeking new loans from the National Bank, nor anyone who would sign it. That time is over.

[Petrovic] All in all then, Deputy Prime Minister, we can conclude that there is no deviation from the program?

[Sainovic] Not only will there be no deviation from the program, but everything that we have done so far represents a successful superstructure on the basic concept that was envisaged by the program. I would like to say in particular that the total coordination in the work of the republican and federal government and the National Bank ensures that everything is under full control. Everyone is in charge of budgetary discipline in his own domain. I would particularly like to stress the major results of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in slashing prices. This significantly supports the program's implementation. I do not think that there is any serious person who has justified doubts about the program. All serious businessmen, all individuals, and all those who are involved in the economy can, on the basis of the already affirmed course of our economy, invest their work, knowledge, and potentials in further expanding our economy to the maximum.

[Petrovic] Deputy Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Minister Says FRY Ready for Albanian Dialogue

LD1808191494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Human and Minority Rights Minister Margit Savovic reiterated Thursday Yugoslavia's readiness for a dialogue with ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija.

Savovic received Thursday Geerd Ahrens, chairman of the working group for ethnic and national communities of the Geneva-based international conference on the former Yugoslavia, who inquired about the dialogue with what he described as the "Albanian alternative." Savovic said the dialogue would only be possible if territorial integrity of Yugoslavia was not questioned.

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The Yugoslav Information Ministry said in a statement that Ahrens informed Savovic about his contacts with Serb community leaders in former Yugoslav republics. Savovic and Ahrens also discussed the position of ethnic Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia, with Savovic emphasizing that ethnic Bulgarians enjoy the same rights as all other minorities in Yugoslavia and denying allegations of minority right violations.

All ethnic Bulgarians send their children to Serbian language schools where they can take Bulgarian as an optional subject, said Savovic.

Savovic said in a statement sent to TANJUG on Tuesday that the Yugoslav Government had recently adopted a memorandum on the position of the ethnic Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia and forwarded it to the United Nations.

The memorandum was adopted in response to allegations made by the Bulgarian representative in the U.N. Human Rights Committee that Yugoslavia violated Bulgarian minority rights.

Government Allocates Money for Refugee Care

LD1808131094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—A total of 6.27 million dinars has been earmarked in the federal budget in the period June to September this year to assist refugees in the FRY. The federal government has allocated 22.8 million dinars of this year's budget for refugee care. [passage omitted]

It is estimated that in Serbia alone there are around 500,000 refugees, including 200,000 children and youths, and 1,200 orphans. The refugees are of various nationalities. In addition to many Serbs who fled from war-stricken areas, around 30,000 Muslims, 13,000 Croats, and 6,000 Yugoslavs have found shelter in Serbia.

Government Reorganization Work Nears Completion

AU1808125494 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 94 p 11

[Report by Mirko Caric: "Ten Instead of 19 Ministries"]

[Excerpts] Only two weeks remain until the beginning of September, but the composition of the new federal government is still not known. At the meeting of a small circle of top officials last week, the list of proposals concerning the new cabinet was shortened, and, as POLITIKA has learned, the new federal government will have only 10 ministries. Along with these there will, of course, be the prime minister and four deputy prime ministers.

Names Are Still Not Known

A working group led by Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic has been working on this project for more than two months under fairly tight secrecy. According to some earlier statements by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the work should have been completed by the end of July.

Information on the work and reports by the group for rationalization of the federal government is meager to the extent that the Ministry of Information does not know the names of the future ministries. Of course, the names of the future ministers are impossible to obtain.

The ruling parties in Serbia and Montenegro are obviously still not clear about certain names, certain ministries, and their practical importance at this moment. Talks are also being held on relations between the republics and the federation, or to be more precise, on the powers of the new federal government. The intention is to centralize the work of the government and to make it significantly more efficient than has been the case up to now. It is certain that the entire cabinet will be seated in the Palace of the Federation and that no other government premises will be used for this purpose.

Secretariats Instead of Some Ministries

Among the novelties concerning the future cabinet is certainly the appointment of ministers without ministries and the creation of secretariats instead of some ministries. Ministers without portfolio are also envisaged, but they will have clearly defined spheres of work. In other words, nine current ministries will be replaced with nine ministers without ministries and secretariats.

For instance, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights will not exist, but there will be a minister for human and minority rights. Or, the Ministry for Legislation will be replaced with an appropriate secretariat. [passage omitted]

The rationalization in the highest Yugoslav executive organ should be a qualitative one. This means that the cabinet will be strengthened in terms of experts working in it.

According to available information, the number of officials in Belgrade was reduced by 8,056 between 1987 and 1993. This is a radical change in relation to the administration in the former Yugoslavia, although some people think that the federal cabinet should be reduced even further. Analyses also show that the federal administration constitutes only a small part of the federal organs and that its rationalization in fact amounts to "drawing a blank." Only a small percentage of the federal budget (about 4 percent) is apportioned to the federal administration. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Assembly Session Sought To Challenge Milosevic

LD1808140594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 18 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], confirmed

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at a news conference today that the deputies of the SRS, the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], and the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] submitted a request for an extraordinary session of the Serbian Assembly.

According to Seselj, the request was submitted because of the Serbian president's statement on the suspension of relations between Belgrade and the Srpska republic, the Serbian prime minister's letter, and the Assembly speaker's statement, because—Seselj claims—the Constitution was violated on all three occasions.

The leader of the Radicals said that Democratic Party deputies were approached, but they did not join the initiative because the party chairman is on vacation. Seselj expressed hope that the Democrats will join the initiative during the extraordinary session.

He noted that the Radicals will try to launch the same initiative in the federal parliament.

Asked about the deployment of foreign observers along the border with the Srpska republic, Seselj said that it would be good if the Serbian president rejected their deployment along the Drina River.

He also announced the parliamentary motion to, as he said, remove the president of the republic.

Kosovo

Albanian Leader Desires 'Office' in Belgrade

LD1908110094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 19 Aug 94

[Text] Pristina, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], told journalists today that he will request that the Serbian Government grant him permission to open an office in Belgrade "through which the Serbs and Albanians can communicate more easily."

Asked whether it will be "an office of the republic of Kosovo or of the DSK", Rugova said: "Let it be an office of Kosovo to start with."

Commenting on relations between Greece and Albania, Rugova said that "Greece should not raise tensions, but accept Albanian President Sali Berisha's initiative to solve all disputes through dialogue."

The DSK leader said that the building of apartments for Bosnian refugees near Vucitrn has "alarmed" Albanians who will ask the UNHCR not to lend assistance to that project.

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